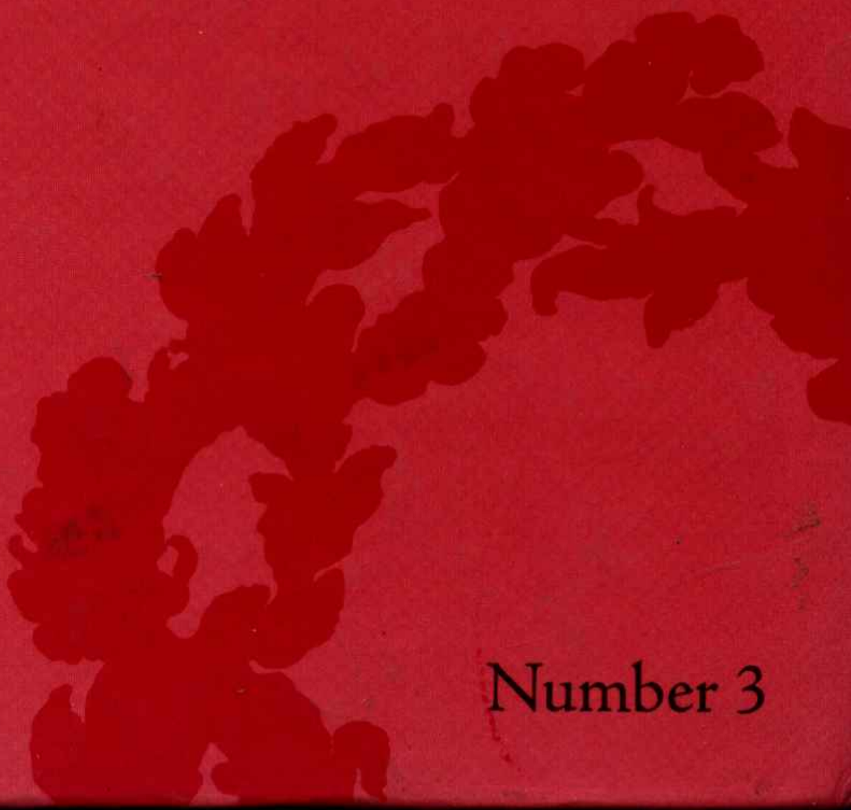
EMPIRES IN PERSPECTIVE

Missionary Education and Empire in Late Colonial India, 1860–1920

Hayden J. A. Bellenoit



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MISSIONARY EDUCATION AND EMPIRE IN LATE COLONIAL INDIA, 1860–1920

EMPIRES IN PERSPECTIVE

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BY

Hayden J. A. Bellenoit

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This project found its genesis during a visit to an Indian friend's house for dinner. I had noticed the portraits of Vishnu, Shiva and Jesus in the hallway which, on the surface, might seem contradictory (if not curious) to the ordinary observer. Combined with an interest in Indian education, this initially got me thinking about religion and pedagogy in nineteenth-century India. Yet the real impetus for this project occurred during a trip to India. I was struck by how enthusiastic Indians displayed their English educational credentials and, in particular, the intellectual erudition of my Indian friends and colleagues – many of whom seemed to know more about western scholarship, theory and intellectualism than my Oxford peers. I was also impressed with the predominance of university degrees amongst Indian families in America. This got me thinking more deeply about education and religion, and where the two converge. This book effectively aims to bridge the gap between an already rich, sophisticated Indian social history with its educational history.

This study is mainly concerned with northern India and the United Provinces (UP) in particular. But it also incorporates other Hindi and Urdu-speaking areas, such as Delhi, and the Central Provinces. It will also consider select parts of the Punjab, Kashmir and Bengal, along with other regions which border the Gangetic plain. It examines religious debate and scholarly discourse at both a northern and eastern level; it will also incorporate examples in other parts of India where relevant.

There are numerous individuals whom I should thank. Firstly, I would like to thank Michael Middeke and Mark Pollard at Pickering & Chatto for their patience and flexibility in completing this project. I would also like to thank John Marriot and my anonymous reviewers for their kind suggestions and gentle, constructive comments. A number of librarians and archivists have provided invaluable assistance during the course of this project. I would like to thank the governments of India and Uttar Pradesh, the staff of the Indian Institute, the Rhodes House Library, the Uttar Pradesh State Archives and Secretariat Library, the National Archives of India, the SOAS and British Libraries, and the Birmingham University Library. In India I would like to thank especially those in Delhi and Lucknow for facilitating access to archives and their unwavering hospitality: Asif Ali, Abdullah Gagru and his family, Saleem Kidwai, Amitabh Pandey and Dr Sandianagar of the Uttar Pradesh State Archives, Nikita Sud, and Gautam and Reshmi Thaukar. In particular I would like to thank Naheed and Raj Verma for their warm hospitality and generous assistance in Lucknow, Mr. Alok Sinha, I.A.S., for providing access to the UP archives, and especially Ram Advani for his unwavering hospitality, support and making one feel part of a much wider community of scholars which transcends the Americas, Europe and Asia. However, I must offer special thanks to Dr Rakesh Shukla for the dosti and masti he so warmly and unfailingly provided in Lucknow, and to Dr Vibhuti Rai and his family for providing a warm welcome, splendid khana and valuable information on Kayasthas and education.

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H. J. A. Bellenoit
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GLOSSARY

Advaita	school of Hindu philosophy which believes in unity of all things (monism) rather than division between spiritual and worldly.
Agarwal	a north Indian merchant caste.
Arya Samaj	organization founded as a Hindu revivalist/reformist body.
Ashrama	stage of a Hindu in his life.
Ashudd	unclean or polluted.
Avatara	incarnation; an incarnate is an avatar.
Babu	a derogatory term used to describe educated Bengalis in Government employment.
Bania	Hindu merchant caste of north India.
Begum	an ex-King's wife.
Bhadralok	'respectable people', usually referring to English-educated Bengalis.
Bhajan	a song of religious content in Hinduism.
Bhakti	devotion to God (Hinduism).
Bhangi	sweeper, untouchable.
Bhumihar	landowning Brahman, primarily in the Gangetic plain.
Brahmacharya	celibacy.
Brahman	member of Hindu priestly caste; highest and purest in the varna scheme.
Brahmo Samaj	Hindu reformist organization founded in nineteenth century.
Chamar	sweeper caste of north India's 'untouchable' population.
Charitra	'character'.
Chaukidar	a watchman.
Chela	a pupil.
Chitpavan	caste title of Maharashtra Brahmans with tradition of elite service under Maratha dynasts.
Darshan	the sigh or view of a holy person, object or place, which bestows a blessing on a viewer; one gives or receives darshan.

Dharma	righteousness (Hinduism); loosely 'religion'.
Dhoti	loin cloth worn by men.
Dom	considered 'untouchable'.
Dvija	lit., 'twice-born'.
Dvaita	dualism; the notion that the worldly is distinct from the spiritual.
Gujar	a pastoralist and agriculturalist caste of north India.
Guru	an Indian teacher or mentor.
Hakeem	a doctor.
Izzat	honour.
Jat	a middle agricultural caste of north India.
Jati	sub-caste, or birth.
Jyotishastra	Hindu astrology.
Kallar	a pastoralist and military caste of north India.
Karma	the ethical law of causation.
Kayastha	north Indian writer caste.
Kazi	a Muslim judge: under the British a registrar in a city.
Khattri	north Indian mercantile and administrative caste.
Kotwal	city magistrate: a police chief.
Kshatriya	one of four varnas, a warrior caste.
Lokika	describes Brahmans who follow secular, i.e. non-priestly callings.
Madrasah	Islamic Seminary.
Mahar	an 'unclean' labouring caste in Maharashtra.
Maktab	Islamic Primary School for boys.
Mandala	a universal homeland; India.
Mandir	temple, usually Hindu.
Masjid	mosque.
Math	monastery.
Maulvi	a Muslim cleric.
Maya	illusion.
Mela	a religious gathering in Hinduism.
Mithar	a north Indian sweeper caste, esp. in the Banaras area.
Mleccha	a 'barbarian', or outsider.
Mohadharma	a false religion.
Mufti	an exponent of law in a Muslim city.
Munshi	an Indian language instructor, usually employed by the British.
Mushairah	a poetic competition.
Nava vidha	lit., 'new knowledge', or the New Dispensation of the Brahmo Samaj.

Nawab	deputy to the Mughal Emperor.
Nyaya	system of Hindu logic and philosophy.
Panchayat	a system of local village government.
Pandit	a Hindu teacher, usually Brahmin.
Parsi	Zoroastrian in India, mostly concentrated about Bombay.
Pathshala	Hindu indigenous School.
Pir	Muslim mystical adepts of Sufism.
Prayaschitta	atonement, usually associated with returning from sea travel.
Purana	cosmologies and divine lessons of medieval Hinduism.
Purdah	custom of veiling and sheltering women from public, practised primarily among Muslims, but also by particular Hindu castes.
Ram	divine Hindu warrior-king.
Raj	lit., 'rule', usually referring to British colonial rule.
Rajput	north Indian military and royal and warrior caste.
Sabha	a meeting.
Sadhu	Hindu ascetic, wandering holy man.
Samaj	society, association.
Samsara	cycle of rebirths.
Sanatana dharma	lit., 'the eternal religion', i.e., Hinduism.
Sardar	a village chief.
Sarkar	government.
Sati	widow-burning.
Sewa	service.
Shastrartha	traditional public scholarly debate.
Shaivite	a devotee of the deity Lord Shiva.
Shiva	major Hindu god.
Shudra	the lowest caste in Hinduism.
Shuddi	act of reconverting back to Hinduism.
Sufi	mystical and esoteric knowledge within Islam.
Sveta-dvipa	'white island'.
Swadeshi	lit. 'own country', also Indian.
Tahsil	a sub-district.
Talqudar	wealthy landowners of the UP area, primarily in Oudh.
Tol	a Hindu indigenous school.
Thakurani	a village headwoman.
Vaishnava	Hindus giving particular veneration to Vishnu, and who believe in distinction between the soul and Divine.
Vaishya	caste third in rank of the varna system, usually commercial.
Vakil	a servant, usually though not always, legal.
Varna	lit. 'colour', or the idealized fourfold rank of society.

Vedanta	'culmination of the Vedas', a major school of Hinduism.
Vedas	India's oldest classical religious scriptures, *c.* 1500–1000 BC.
Vizier	an administrative official.
Yavanas	'Ionians', i.e., Indo-Greek communities in north India.
Zila	government-run village school.
Zamindar	a landowner.
Zenana	secluded section of a house for women, followed mostly by Muslims but also by high-caste Hindus.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AUC	Allahabad University Calendar
BUL	Birmingham University Library
C. C.	Corresponding Committee
CIS	Contributions to Indian Sociology
CLR	Copies of Letters Received
CLS	Christian Literature Society
CMD	Cambridge Mission to Delhi
CMS	Church Mission Society
CMSL	Cambridge Mission to South London
CP	Central Provinces
CSSH	Comparative Studies in Society and History
CVES	Christian Vernacular Education Society
Ed. Files	Educational Files
Ed. Procds.	Educational Proceedings
GAD	General Administrative Department
GIA	Grant-in-Aid
GOI	Government of India
Gov.	Government
HD	Home Department
H.S.	High School
JAS	Journal of Asian Studies
LMS	London Missionary Society
LR	Letters Received
MAS	Modern Asian Studies
NAI	National Archives of India, New Delhi
NES	Native Education Society
NWP&O	North West Provinces of Agra and Oudh (before 1902)
OIOC	Oriental and India Office Collections, British Library
PTC	Provincial Textbook Committee
RHL	Rhodes House Library, Oxford
SOASL	School of Oriental and African Studies Library, London

SPG	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel
SVN	Selections from Vernacular Newspapers (United Provinces)
UP	United Provinces of Agra and Oudh (after 1902)
UPSRR	Uttar Pradesh Secretariat Research Room, Lucknow
UPSA	Uttar Pradesh State Archives, Lucknow

Note on Transliteration and word choices

Given that transliterations of South Asian words have always been changing, inconsistencies will always arise. I have attempted to be consistent, and to use the modern versions of place-names over their colonial usages, i.e., Kanpur over Cawnpore, Banaras over Benares, Pune over Poona, whilst utilizing the modern-day transliterations taken from standard works on South Asian history. Some originals, though, have been used (e.g., 'Oudh' over 'Awadh') in order to avoid confusion when referring to archival and printed material. Of course, some transliterations may sound corrupt, and the fault rests – it must be stressed –entirely with the author. On more particulars: the terms 'east' and 'west' will be used in lower-case (except when quoted), understanding that although there are values and cultures which are predominately eastern and western, they are by no means monolithic. GIA and 'grant' are also used interchangeably. 'Department' is shorthand for the Department of Public Instruction.

INTRODUCTION

The main purpose of this book is to explore the development and impact of English and 'modern' forms of education upon Indian society. It is intended, primarily, as a contribution to South Asian history. Yet in doing so it will also contribute to the imperial, social and religious histories of the subcontinent. It seeks to explore the larger field of education in north India from the mid-nineteenth century to the outbreak of all-India nationalist mobilization led by Gandhi and Congress in the early 1920s. In particular, it relates pedagogy 'on the spot' with its social contexts and shapers, and with larger intellectual debates, religion, spirituality and Indian patriotism. It casts a wider net than existing historiography to give us a holistic understanding of not only the educational experience but also of colonial interactions, knowledge contestation and the emergence of Indian patriotism. In doing so, it seeks to make a solid and penetrating contribution towards our historical literature.

Education was, politically and imperially-speaking, crucial for the British during the generation of Macaulay and after to fill the lower tiers of a rapidly spawning-out colonial bureaucracy. Most of these clerk jobs were either undesired by the British or could only have been filled by Indians which bilingual abilities. In part, this was needed to serve the needs of the East India Company, which by the 1850s had moved significantly towards statistical compendiums, voluminous cartographic surveys and ethnographic studies as a way of knowing their subjects. Expatriate Company officials and, later on, British administrators serving the Sovereign, relied heavily upon the abilities of both the 'new public man'[1] and subordinate English-literate clerks to communicate between increasingly removed British officialdom and the networks of social, aesthetic and affectionate communities in the north Indian hinterland. The colonial bureaucracy would likely have had limited writ without the likes of Shiva Prasad and numerous other English-educated Indians who worked upcountry in the Gangetic hinterland, and across much of India for that matter.

Apart from its political and imperial realities, education was also, more importantly, a formative social and intellectual factor in the emergence of modern India. The decision by the Company to jettison Persian as an official language in favour of English had reverberate effects (though often incomplete and patchy) upon the pedagogical landscape of South Asia. Large sections of the north Indian Muslim *ashraf* classes, for example, who had served the Mughal state system and its regional successors, suddenly found their gentry skills in rhetoric and legal administration, outdated. There were also, in theory, changes in the possibility of social mobility. For Hindus, these were issues of caste and social purity. Schools were – theoretically – more open to a wider social mix of Indians, whereas prior 'higher' education was largely reserved for Brahmans and other of relatively socially and religiously elite standing. Indians who could (and did) work under the Company had to keep European time, regular diaries and had to correspond in English. The knowledge imparted in these schools was also significant in terms of South Asia's social and religious history. Students who before might have studied Vedic lore and astrology, divine geography, Koranic rationalism, and rhetoric, were now exposed to a western curriculum and the works of Bacon, Locke and Newton. In theory, these had the possibility to jaundice traditional Hindu beliefs and social conceptions of purity and pollution. These early nineteenth-century movements towards 'useful knowledge' ran hand-in-hand with both desires to 'uplift' and 'civilize', and, often more insidiously, hopes to see off Indian 'superstition' and, some hoped, to Christianise Hindus.

These were all significant changes in the social and intellectual landscape of pedagogy. In tackling these larger issues, this study, which is primarily focused upon the social contexts of education, also engages with larger issues such as gender, race, empire, missionary Christianity and 'colonial discourse' (to use the modern jargon). These are all unavoidable and indispensable tools in helping us to gain a rich, deeper understanding of the educational experience. Although it does not afford primary consideration to any one of these individual topics, it treats them as parts of a wider, dynamic rubric of pedagogical experience and seeks to link them to larger developments in modern South Asia. In particular, it treats race, gender and religion not in a vacuum, but as constantly moulding and interdependent developments which contributed towards larger changes in modern India.

Education in Modern South Asia

This book starts from the need to address a curious gap in South Asian historiography: education. For such a significant development in the subcontinent's history, the accumulated and contemporary literature surrounding it is relatively straitjacketed by a fixation upon institutions and high policy. Whilst seemingly inevitable and almost necessary, this book argues that we can gain much more from a deeper, penetrating understanding of how education functioned in the locale and its relation to wider Indian social and political developments.

The current state if educational historiography can largely be explained by the ruminations of the generation of post-Independence scholars' experiences of growing up with English education in India. They saw the imposition of new institutions and centralizing, state-sanctioned curricula as radically transforming conceptions of knowledge, rationalism and religion. This was seen especially in contrast to precolonial forms of knowledge impartation and instruction in 'higher' subjects-mainly Koranic studies in the madrassah (Islamic seminary), Vedic knowledge in the *vidyalaya* (monastery), and other vocational studies in the *pathshala* (Hindu indigenous schools).

These experiences have manifested themselves directly in the general literature on education. Most of this has focused in institutions and policy. Many of the most well-known studies for example, such as those by Aparna Basu,[2] Sarayu Prasad Chaube[3] and Suresh Chandra Ghosh,[4] have given us excellent studies on the institutions modern education. Others such as Krishna Kumar[5] and Mushirul Hasan[6] have analysed the political imperatives which drove the emergence of English education and the political contexts of the Indian educational experience and its colonial policies.

One significant by-product of this trend has been to accept the transforming effects of modern, English education upon Indian tradition as given. This is an assumption which has largely characterized our educational historiography. Missionary educationists, Anglicizing evangelical preachers and company scholars were already championing this during the 1820s and 1830s and the 'age of reform'. This continued up through the 1940s and 1950s. Indian observers largely echoed this line of thought. Abdullah Yusuf Ali[7] argued during the 1940s that English education radically shook up Indian society, thinking and tradition. P. L. Rawat was another historian who made similar claims.[8] Contemporary historians and anthropologists have largely kept this interpretation alive. Nita Kumar, in documenting the local conditions of pedagogy amongst various social groups in Banaras, has argued that English education represented a serious rupture with the Indian past.[9]

These are all important studies. And of course, it would be hard to deny the change which resulted from the introduction of colonial forms of English education. Yet this is not the complete picture. More specifically, Indian educational historiography is still relatively devoid of studies which firmly lodge pedagogy in its very important and moulding social contexts. The sociology of education – how education was moulded and shaped by social factors such as religion, caste and community – is relatively unexplored. Education, particularly outside of major cities such as Calcutta, Delhi, Madras and Bombay, is also relatively unexplored. What is more, many of these studies' conclusions are unintentionally similar to scholarship which has focused on learned theories of Orientalism.[10] The history of Indian education has, with its focus on institutions and policy pronouncements, unwittingly resuscitated the prism of modernity versus Indian tradition. This is simplistic and, in a way, it has stunted our historiography. This book seeks to move educational historiography beyond this dichotomy.

The Educational Enterprise and the Sociology of Pedagogy

Throughout, this book will utilize a phrase termed the 'educational enterprise'. It is not, it must be stressed, a 'thing' or concrete entity. Effectively it is a heuristic template used to gauge the network of mission schools which were fanned out across northwestern Bengal, further upcountry in the Gangetic plain, in select parts of the Punjab and central, Hindi-speaking India. It covers a wide collection of schools run by numerous missionary societies at the secondary and higher levels, teaching in both English and various forms of Hindustani. More importantly, it offers an insightful way of assessing the British and missionary impact upon both Indian religious and secular knowledge systems, and patriotic sentiment. One of the main advantages of utilizing a wider template in studying education is that it not only accounts for the diversity of experiences within a pedagogical relationship, but it also can identify trends and commonalities across administrative regions, castes and religious communities.

The main manner in which this concept of an educational enterprise is given colour and depth is through studying the sociological context of education. Since South Asian historiography already possesses a rich and sophisticated social history, this approach should be seen as an attempt to bridge two different approaches. This book makes a strong argument for expanding the boundaries of South Asian historiography by working with the field of educational sociology. Too little is known about the day-to-day running of education and its wider sociological bearings. Who served as patrons of schools? What were the demographics of these schools? How were schools linked to communities of religious, aesthetic and affective knowledge? Such questions, this book argues, are crucial in understanding the impact of modern forms of education in India. This book therefore treats education not as a mere institutional experience, confined to the pedagogical relationships usually found in classrooms, but as actively shaping and, more importantly, shaped by its social context – in bazaars, Hindu temples, mosques, hill retreats and student lodgings. It suggests that education be broadened to include a wide variety of religious, spiritual and anthropological experiences. What is more, a sociological understanding of the educational experience, both secular and religious, can give us an even wider perspective to the already well-documented emergence of organized Indian nationalism. Indian educational history has been divorced from its social context. It needs to be, this book argues, restored to its very instructive social environment. Such an approach ought to bring significant benefits to Indian historiography.

This project has derived a good deal of inspiration from the work of Pierre Bourdieu.[11] Bourdieu's sociological work offers a useful theoretical template by which to assess the impact of education and, more instructively, how Indians were able to shape their pedagogical functioning and experiences. In particular, his concepts of pedagogic authority, charisma and cultural reproduction can prove of great use to scholars of South Asia. Bourdieu, for his part, treats the authority of pedagogy as something which reproduces the ethoses and privileges of the socially elite, referring to the French educational system – particularly the *Grand Ecoles* and the *Ecole Nationale D'Administration*. Bourdieu sees education as possessing a veneer of meritocracy whilst clandestinely safeguarding the authority and dominance of the state, and those with the most vested interests in administering it. In effect, he argues, modern state-run regimes of education reproduce not only the dominance of the socially elite, but also the legitimacy of the state. Bourdieu's work touches upon many aspects which are crucial for modern South Asian history – knowledge contestation, colonial educational infrastructures, and teacher-pupil relationships.

In all, this study finds much use in these concepts. Yet it takes particular qualifications with them. In the Indian context, for example, there had always been a longer, precolonial undercurrent of educational patronage which relied upon the local subscriptions of village headmen, panchayat councils and holy men, in the forms of elementary and merchant-commercial education (*Mahajani*-shopkeeper-education).[12] Very often this took place beyond the ken of the Mughals and their regional state successor systems, which nearly exclusively patronized the study of 'high' education-Sanskritic learning, the Islamic *madrassah* and Urdu poetry. The precolonial Indian states did not set up their own centralized curricula, and instead served as symbolic patrons. The British, by contrast, set up a centralized bureaucratic system first at the provincial (and later at the central) level and state-run curricula, rendering many indigenous institutions obsolete. But it was never as absolute or seemingly penetrating as it may have seemed. Outwardly, the institutional change was significant. But such change did not necessarily equal social change. There was, in theory, much room of manoeuvrability for Indians to carry on reproducing their own social, religious and caste ethoses within a transformed institutional structure. It is one of the main aims of this book to explore this void which has held back our historiography.

Missionaries in South Asia

Another aim of this book is to grant missionaries a more central role in the history of South Asia than they have hitherto been afforded. Missionaries have not yet been fully integrated into the mainstream historiography of South Asia, and have usually been treated as institutions or purely religious actors. This book, by contrast, will strongly argue for a more formative role for missionaries in the emergence of modern India and their interactions with Indian society. In particular, it offers a telling insight into how missionaries operated beneath the veneer of pamphlets, sermons and (usually the focus of modern scholars) popular missionary figures such as Alexander Duff and William Carey. Whilst this book deals with missionaries, it is mostly, it must be stressed, a contribution towards Indian history, but it simultaneously contributes towards imperial history due to the nature of the topics covered.

The history of religion and missionaries within the historiography of imperialism is a subject which has become increasingly vibrant and sophisticated of late. There have, of course, been earlier studies of the 'missionary impact' in India, though these have been peculiarly circumscribed in their approach. Scholars have tended to focus more on ideological and confrontational periods between missionaries and Indians. Lata Mani, for example, has focused on missionary diatribes over *sati* (self-immolation of Hindu wives), documenting how they riled against such 'barbaric' practices and, importantly, displayed a disparagement which mirrored that of the reformist-cum-Anglicizing generation of James Mill and Thomas Macaulay.[13] Avril Powell has also documented the more hardened interactions between missionaries and Indian society, bringing particular focus to the religious polemics with the Muslim *ulama* in north India before the Mutiny.[14] Other scholars such as Anthony Copley have shed light upon the period of religious conflict and polemic debate between missionaries and religious leaders, particularly over matters such as conversion.[15]

One underlying presumption from much of this scholarship, however, has been to conflate (in varying degrees) missionaries with wider imperial prerogatives. This has even been done by a wider academic and theological audience. N. Barney Bityana, for example, has conflated colonialism with Christianity from a political perspective, arguing that the prerogatives of missionaries were often in line with wider imperial dynamics.[16] The scholar of liberation theology, Tissa Balasuriya, has similarly suggested that missionary Christianity is still theologically bound up with the imperial pretences of Christianity and expansionist Europe.[17] These underlying arguments have been similarly and more recently echoed in the field of imperial historiography. Catherine Hall,[18] for one, has demonstrated how missionaries in Jamaica and Birmingham created an 'other' in their rhetoric, activities and imaginations. Kathleen Wilson has argued that missionaries were instructive in making 'Christian subjects' out of the 'other',[19] whilst Hans Turley has even gone as far to argue that Protestant Evangelism justified forms of 'ethnocide' and colonialism.[20]

These arguments, the following chapters contend, deserve significant qualification. This trend in recent imperial and missionary historiography has tended to focus on general and more popular missionary spokesmen, whilst often overlooking less well known – yet equally significant and instructive – figures who worked for decades in Indian villages, holy cities and classrooms. Popular rhetoric and publications have been given overly-weighted attention at the expense of more intimate and constructive interactions with colonial societies. Whilst admitting that the creation of difference was part of an emerging imperial English and imperial identity, this was not, it must be stressed, the complete picture. Numerous other missionaries engaged with Muslim, Hindu and Buddhist traditions in ways which were far more positive and sympathetic than these scholars have allowed. There was another half to the missionary impact which deserves equal attention. In doing so, this book will account for the imperial horizons of British Protestant missionaries in India and, to another extent, the wider world.

One noticeable omission from much recent work on missionaries has been theology, and the scant inattention that imperial scholars have paid to it is highly problematic. As Andrew Porter[21] has recently argued, missionaries took their theology seriously, and our understandings of the missionary impact are significantly limited if we fail to account for theology and how it played itself out in the mission field. This book is largely in sympathy with this view, arguing that theology was crucial to the field of missionary education and, upon closer analysis, the history of religion and knowledge in South Asia. The omission of theology also hinders us from accounting for the wider, and often tenuous and uncertain, intellectual undercurrents upon which they were based. The following chapters demonstrate that the theology in widest currency – Fulfilment – not only guided missionary educationists in their activities, but, more importantly, opened up the possibility for Indian-missionary interaction, contestation and, in the end, uncertainty as to the degree which missionaries were 'hand-maids of empire'. Moreover, the theology itself was not solely a product of the European will to dominate, but also, as we will see, had strong roots in pre-colonial Indian traditions, wider European intellectual disagreements and uncertainties. It was also moulded and shaped by experiences in India.

Another aim of this book is to integrate missionaries into the mainstream of South Asian historiography, rather than treating them as marginal and purely religious actors. It aims to effectively cross-fertilize the realms of Indian and missionary history more intimately. This needs to be emphasized. Past historians have tended to consider religion and missionaries irrelevant to social and colonial history, given the dearth of converts they managed to attract. Yet nothing could be further from the truth. Mission activity was a significant social factor in the shaping of modern India. Hindus and Muslims adapted the rhetoric and practices of their antagonists, codified religious canons, and organized themselves along proselytizing lines. These developments helped contribute to 'modern' and larger Hindu and Muslim identities – and ultimately nationalisms – in South Asia. Missionaries, this book will stress throughout, were also more deeply engaged with and knowledgeable about the very cultural, religious and affective forms of knowledge from which the British became increasingly removed as the nineteenth century progressed. Two questions this book seeks to answer are: were missionaries absorbed by the larger process of Empire consolidation in India, and how significant was their impact, via education, upon the subcontinent?

Another approach this book takes is treating missionaries not purely as religious actors. In particular, less examined in South Asia's historiography has been the missionary-scholar-Orientalist of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Too little is known about the more intense and personal interactions between Indians and Europeans after the period of the Indian Mutiny, many of which were spearheaded by missionary-cum-scholars. This is largely because contemporary scholars are still loosely bound to a chronology which sees the post-Mutiny period as unquestionably reactionary, racially-minded and disparaging of Indian tradition. Yet such an approach, this book argues, is limited by focusing on either British officialdom or Anglo-India. These latter nineteenth-century missionaries, upon closer inspection, engaged in a voluminous amount of discourse with pundits, moulvies and sannayasis, and at major religious and pilgrimage sites. Missionaries engaged in the higher and multiple thoughts of Hinduism and its philosophy, discussing and investigating everything from the nature of God, incarnation, the afterlife and the transmigration of souls (*samsara*). Banaras was usually a focal point. Religious tracts and scriptures were exchanged, and pundits and missionaries met weeks later to discuss in either seminar form or in the public arena of debate. Great and vibrant public discussions were generated, and at times even the hope of religious conversion was jettisoned completely. This book argues that the later colonial period was not just an era of religious and ideological conflict, and polarization, but was also characterized by intense discourse, discussion and exchanges of religious ideas which – from one perspective – increasingly resembled the early periods of British Orientalist scholarship.

Aims and Outline of this Book

This book approaches education in a three-fold manner. Firstly, it explores and charts the pre-colonial traditions of comparative religious scholarship which were pioneered by Indo-Muslim gentry scholars starting with the scholarly canons and travelogues of eleventh- and twelfth-century Muslim scholars and, more intensely, during the Mughal period. Secondly, it penetrates into the functioning and impact of pedagogy 'on the spot' by examining the infrastructure of education, the reception of the curricula by Indian students, and the contestation of Orientalist scholarship on India and the origins of religious traditions. Lastly, it examines the relationship between north Indian education and wider developments in Indian patriotism and affective knowledge, exploring how both missionaries (for their own reasons) and Indian students contributed to what can be forms of 'constructive nationalism'. In a sense it is a broad, ambitious study. But it does argue that by weaving a wider variety of topics into a study of education we gain a more socially-contextualized understanding of Indians' diverse educational experiences.

The societies most involved in education in the North-Western Provinces (latter United Provinces) of Agra and Oudh were the Church Missionary Society (CMS), London Missionary Society (LMS) and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG). The former two organizations were more evangelical in orientation, whilst the SPG was itself more representative of the 'High Church' tradition in Anglicanism, having more in common with the Catholic Church. These societies differed in their stances on doctrine and especially the use of ritualism. The SPG, for example, was seen by the more evangelical CMS and, to a lesser degree, the more Congregational LMS, as too close to 'Romanism'. These differences did manifest themselves back home in Britain and were the subject of divisive debates in the British public sphere, but they are less easily discernible in the north Indian context. Despite these differences, there was a marked degree of congruence in both their attitudes and practice in their dealings with Indian students and their religious traditions. For instance, the rather minute differences between societies over the degree to which they planned on accommodating Indian religions in their efforts to propagate Christianity rarely manifested themselves 'on the spot'. Missionaries from different societies often filled-in for teachers at other societies' schools, even though some felt they were 'competing for souls'.

This book effectively has six core chapters. Chapter 1 begins by examining the precolonial foundations upon which both Orientalist scholarship and comparative religious debate were based. In particular, it examines vibrant, extant traditions of religious debate and appropriation which were picked up upon by eighteenth-century Orientalist scholars and, later on, missionaries themselves. It also provides a useful, late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century context to establish the wider context of missionary engagements and Indian responses. Chapter 2 goes on to analyse the social, economic and moral context which allowed the emergence of a north Indian educational enterprise. It looks at, in particular, the ascendancy of a market form of education which came into being during the latter half of the nineteenth century, and how it was shaped by not only British anxiety and fear, but also by Indian social realities. Chapter 3 examines the instructive role of theology in the educational field, defines missionary aims and means, and in doing so touches upon topics such as gender, empire and cultural representations. This chapter specifically probes how missionaries engaged with pre-existing studies of Hindu theism and how they moulded them to fit their own agenda. Chapter 4 is more specific, and accounts for the 'nuts and bolts' of pedagogy by examining the infrastructural shortcomings and instructive contexts in which these schools operated. In particular, it links the infrastructural deficiencies of pedagogy with larger trends of secularization which were, it stresses, fashioned by both missionaries and Indians. It also accounts for how Indians shaped the enterprise within and how it reproduced Indian ethoses and cultural norms regarding public piety, ritual pollution and privilege. Chapter 5 addresses the wider topic of knowledge, examining in particular how Indian holy men, students and scholars contested missionary efforts to impose terms of religious debate. It also examines how these groups also reacted to their western curricula and contested popular scholarship on comparative religion. In doing so it charts the rise of affective knowledge within a wider ecumene in north India by the latter nineteenth century. Building upon forms of affective knowledge, Chapter 6 explores the educational enterprise's interactions with Indian patriotism and the links between missionary aims and, at a larger level, Indian nationalism. In doing so, it affords a more formative role for missionary educationists in the development and propagation of Indian patriotism, and further explores the widening gap between the Raj colonial state's cultural and human knowledge and that of missionaries, Indian students, and holy men. This was largely due to the deep, vain and Christocentric engagements which missionaries sought out and achieved.

1 KNOWLEDGE, RELIGION AND EDUCATION IN EARLY MODERN INDIA

One of the underlying arguments central to much recent scholarship on South Asia, empire, and missionaries in particular, is that the creation of an 'other', whether via the templates of gender, race or religion, was somehow unique to and a handmaid of colonialism. Whilst admitting that the creation of difference was indeed a part of the wider missionary experience within the empire, it was never absolute. This chapter takes a more nuanced understanding of both its uniqueness to colonialism and its overall significance. Its main aim is to put missionary engagements with India and Hinduism in a much wider context. Specifically, it argues that missionary disparaging of Hinduism and India were part of a much wider and longer tradition which existed both before the coming of the British and the crystallization of hardened racialist attitudes in the latter nineteenth century. Missionaries differed rather in degree and not in essence from their predecessors, and were utilizing the means and approaches of Arab, Persian and Indo-Muslim scholars before them. Anglican missionaries, though initially confrontational and disparaging of Hindu tradition, 'Brahmanical tyranny', and 'repulsive and odious' Indian social customs, had by the 1870s begun to settle down and more constructively engage with Indian religious traditions and knowledge systems. This was partly due to the moulding influence Indian society had exerted upon visiting holy men and religious scholars in the pre-colonial period. Yet at the same time, this was also informed by larger ideological and social shifts after the period of the Indian Mutiny. This chapter argues that the context of engagement with Hinduism after the mid-nineteenth century was not purely introduced by missionaries, but was reflective of debates which, in varying forms, had been taking place prior to the establishment of formal British dominion over the subcontinent. By giving the missionary experience a much wider chronology, this chapter aims to set the context for the remaining analysis in this book, which addresses the interactions between Indian tradition and Europeans.

Religious Discussion and Indian Knowledge in Early Modern and Pre-colonial India

Inter-religious discourse, debate and scholarship were neither entirely new to South Asia nor did they only become condescending and rebarbative during colonialism. Scholars, politicians, philosopher-kings and holy men from abroad, had for centuries engaged with Indian philosophies and religions, all with varying degree of intensity, success, failure and disparagement. With the piecemeal arrival of Islam in the subcontinent and its slow penetration of the Indian hinterland via Sufi wandering mendicants, saints, mystics and preachers, Islamic scholars and eccentrically curious politicians gained increasing access to both Brahmanical knowledge and larger Hindu philosophical systems, moralities and cosmic worldviews. These Muslim scholars and chroniclers, rather than Protestant missionaries, were the first ones to attempt to appropriate Indian religious knowledge systems.

The primary way of capturing the religiosity of early, medieval and late-medieval India was through the mode of spiritual anthropology which characterized many early travelogues on India. Writers commented on the nature, customs and general religious beliefs of those whom they observed. This mode of observation had a strong pre-colonial tradition. Islamic and Buddhist scholars, in particular, had been compiling diary notes, recording religious conversations and making observations for centuries. These intrepid wanderers and keen observers were already categorizing, criticizing and appropriating Indian religions and their traditions. In doing so they were also writing universal histories of Islam which sought to establish a chronological and theological superiority.

The enterprise of comparative religion, in the Indian context, could be said to have been immediately manifested after the Arab conquest of Sindh (*c.* eighth century). Muhammed ibn Qasim, a general in the early conquest, encountered religious rituals and particulars which, aside from his own iconoclast proclivities, he felt were not entirely alien. Qasim drew connections between Indian fire rituals used in both daily *puja* (prayers) and Hindu funeral pyres, with the burning bush in which God manifested himself to Abraham, as found in the Quran, Bible and Torah.[1] Qasim observed that this fire ritual could, in fact, be traced back to the prophet Abraham, and that Brahmans themselves were connected to Abraham from a common ancient source. Qasim effectively used this comparison to establish a chronological superiority for Islam and an appropriation of Indian religious systems.[2]

Centuries later, Abu Rayhan al-Beruni (*c.* 973–1048) stepped into this tradition. His famed Ta'rikh-al-Hind (Chronicles of India), a reflection upon his extensive travels throughout the subcontinent during the tenth and eleventh centuries, reknowned for his acute observations of India as a social and spiritual anthropologist.[3] Yet even more relevant to our discussion here, he demonstrated an impressive knowledge of Hinduism, Judaism and Christianity.[4] Beruni himself was greatly influenced in his comparative religious mindset by his Indian travels and found himself conversing with holy men, itinerant preachers and ascetic wanderers. In particular, he drew connections between the Indian concept of *moksha* (liberation of the soul) and the Koranic understanding of *fana* (the place of the soul's annihilation),[5] noting similarities between Indian and Islamic religious conceptions of the soul, afterlife and metaphysics. In particular, Beruni noted a strong tradition of Hindu theistic understanding of the Divine. A spiritual anthropologist, with knowledge of the rational sciences of the Koran, Beruni observed that 'the [educated] Hindus believe with regard to God that He is One, Eternal ... this is what the educated people believe about God'.[6] This sat rather easily with Beruni's own understanding of the rational sciences and a latitudinarian form of monotheism. This, however, he contrasted, as missionary scholars did some six centuries later, with what he considered the superstitious pantheism of the countryside.[7] Here, Beruni was clearly taxonomizing between the 'lower' and 'higher' schools of Hinduism.

The enterprise of comparative religious scholarship and discourse was given further impetus and energy after the establishment of Mughal political dominance across north India. This opened the wider north Indian religious landscape to scholars of the house of Timurid and other wandering Indo-Muslim intellectuals. More famously, the Sufi mystic Kabir[8] had an immense influence upon Indo-Muslim syncretism. Yet beneath the surface there was a strong and wider – albeit inconsistent – tradition of pre-colonial comparative religious scholarship and efforts at appropriation. The Mughals' religious policies certainly did wax and wane according to the vagaries of the political landscape and the *padshah* (emperor) himself,[9] yet there was always an undercurrent of religious exchange and interaction. The Mughal emperor Jahangir was one such example. Partly influenced by a degree of religious tolerance on the one hand, and on the other hand by the need to establish the Mughal emperor as a universal and legitimate monarch in a largely Hindu country, he held ecumenical debates with pundits in his court. These involved debates over comparative Hindu and Islamic doctrines and their connections.[10]

The Mughal court chronicler and *vizier* (an administrative official) Abul Fazl (d. 1602)[11] was another example. He was influenced by the Iberian mystic and Islamic scholar Ibn Arabi (*c.* 1165–1240), and the Persian founder of the Islamic school of illumination (hikmat al-ishraq), Shihab al-Din Yahya al-Suhrowardi (*c.* 1154–91). This linked the Islamic intellectualism of the Iberian Peninsula with the subcontinent of Asia. This wider intellectual template greatly influenced Fazl and, later, Dara Shukoh. Fazl felt that religion could only be understood from a comparative perspective; this set him down the path of studying Hinduism and other religious traditions. Fazl studied Zoroastrianism intensely and what he termed 'Hindu theism', which in turn strengthened his own belief in *ishraq* and Arabi's and Suhrowardi's very influential wirings.[12] He made connections between Ibn Arabi's concept of *wahdat-ul-wujud* (Unity of Being) and the concept of *advaita* (oneness; monism). Fazl drew strong connections between Sufi Islamic mysticism and the *bhakti* (devotion) tradition of Hinduism, and downplayed the importance of doctrine and ritual beliefs (*taqlid*), emphasizing the need to understand religion from a comparative perspective.[13] He obtained a sophisticated knowledge and understanding of Zoroastrianism, Judaism, Christianity, Hinduism, and conversed with holy men from Syria, Europe, Mongolia, India and Turkey.[14] In his studies, he saw what her termed 'truth' in other non-Islamic religious systems and sought to draw these out in his understanding.[15]

Fazl also held, partly in line with contemporary Mughal practice, comparative religious debates. Fazl saw himself as merely continuing the courtly religious debates of the Tughluq Sultanate, serving as patron of men of the law, letter and scripture.[16] Fazl's Thursday night religious debates were often held in his *Idabat Khana* (House of Worship) in Fatepur Sikri, and were attended by Sunnis, Shias, Pundits, Zoroastrians, Jains and Christian Padres.[17] Pundits and Jesuit missionaries, such as Julian Pereira and Antony Montserrat, were also invited as more recent guests.[18] This undoubtedly stemmed from an innocent intellectual and spiritual curiosity. Yet Fazl, like Shukoh later on and most Indo-Muslim religious scholars, also sought to use these debates to prove the superiority of Islam's rational Koranic foundations over other systems,[19] which were still considered 'superstitious'. In a way, Fazl's desire to prove Islam as a superior religious and ethical system was not terribly different from the efforts of later Protestant missionaries and scholars.

Yet perhaps the most exemplary case was the son of the Mughal emperor Shahjahan, Dara Shukoh. Shukoh's latitudinarian proclivities are well-known, and seen as anomalous for his period. But they did represent an instructive tradition of comparative religious engagement before the British. A latitudinarian with Sufi proclivities, he devoted a good deal of his life to searching for 'truth' in the largely Brahmanical Hinduism he encountered. Shukoh himself was an interesting case. Well versed in the canons and scholarship of Islam, he studied numerous Hindu oral and textual traditions and sought out commonalities between the world's major religious faiths. For his labours, he had the Upanishads translated into Persian during the mid-seventeenth century,[20] and was even said to be more often found in the company of Brahmans[21] rather than with fellow Muslims. In one sense, importantly, Shukoh was very much a scholar of the Indo-Islamic realm. He conversed with pundits and *sannayasi*s regularly, especially after he found the Jewish, Christian, and Islamic conceptions of God's nature to be 'compendious and enigmatical'.[22] And again, anticipating the methods of missionary educationists during the colonial period, Shukoh spent much of his time searching for Hindu 'truth'.[23] This was clearly appropriating. Anticipating the rhetoric of Fulfilment-inspired missionaries by over two centuries, he still placed Islam at the top of all religions, but felt that Hinduism possessed elements of what he termed 'truth'. A prolific writer and translator, Shukoh composed a treatise on comparative religion, *Majma-ul-Bahrain* (The Meeting of Two Oceans; Sanskrit, *Samudra-Sangama*),[24] which he termed 'the collection of the Truth and wisdom of two Truth-knowing groups'.[25]

One particular manner whereby Shukoh sought to establish commonalities was by engaging with what can be termed 'theist studies'. Undoubtedly familiar with the so-called 'high' schools of Hindu philosophy, he considered these to be Hindu devotionalism (*bhakti*) and Vaishnavite in essence. He himself was immersed in the study of *bhakti* and saw it as a way of drawing connections between mystical Islam and Hinduism. He held particular reverence for the *Upanishads*, claiming that they were 'undoubtedly, the first Heavenly book and the fountainhead of the ocean of Monotheism, and in accordance with or *rather an elucidation of the Quran*'.[26] This was a clear example of appropriating Hinduism, notwithstanding his perceived tolerance of other religious systems. He defined truth universally, but it was still on an Islamic pedestal with the Koran being the sole source of divine revelation (*tanzil*) and reason. Yet Shukoh was nevertheless prolific in his drive for comparative religious debate and discourse. He invited the Jesuits and Brahmans to debates on comparative religion.[27] Here, again, was a practice which missionary educationists inherited, built upon and moulded. Shukoh was also a close confidant of the *Bhakti-marga* (devotional path, associated with Kabir) figurehead Baba Lal, who instructed him in Indian conceptions of God, the cosmos and reincarnation.[28] Shukoh found Lal and fellow Vaishnavite devotees to be more amenable to theism and, by extension, easier with which to make connections.[29] He even used the term 'Indian monotheism' as a way of connecting mystical Islam with Hinduism.[30] What was telling, for our purposes here, was that Shukoh was employing a particular school of Hindu thought, *bhakti*, to make connections; this he studied intensely.[31] Again, this was a method picked up and employed by missionaries later during colonial rule. As a result of such scholarship and deep, intimate study of Hinduism, Shukoh made more specific connections between Islam and Hinduism. He compared the Islamic concept of the soul (*ruh*) with the Vedantic conception of *atman* (soul; being), arguing that they were remarkably similar.[32] He also found little contradictions between the Vedanta view of creation-*lila* (an act of sport on the part of God – and the Islamic concept of creation as an act of the will of Allah.[33]

Mirza Zulfigar was another prime example of a strong pre-colonial tradition of religious taxonomy and comparative religious scholarship. Zulfigar (pen name 'Mubed') was born to Persian parents[34] in Patna. He travelled across India for thirty years and composed a massive treatise in 1645, the *Dabistan-i-Mazahib* (School of Religions/Manners). Witnessing the downfall of his contemporary Shukoh, Mubed was part of this wider ecumene of religious discussion, exchange and, at times, invigorating debate and comparative scholarship. He himself, much like Shukoh and Abul Fazl, was very much a proto-Enlightenment figure, and constantly searched for what he termed the 'truth' in all religions. His taxonomical treatise, in which he utilized Ibn Arabi's influential concepts of *hikmat* (philosophy) and *ishraq* (illumination, usually divine), was a result of his travels to Kashmir, Persia, Lahore, numerous place between, his conversations with Muslims, Hindus, Sufi mystics and Zoroastrians. His compilation was voluminous. It touched upon nearly all existing religious systems and was one of the first major comparative religious treatises in the Indo-Islamic world; it covered in detail Zoroastrianism, Christianity, Sufi Islam, the 'Religion of the Tibetans', and even Akbar's *Din-i-Ilahi* (Faith of God).[35] Yet he also, more relevant to our discussion here, undertook an impressive study of the multiple schools of Hindu thought. Mubed himself quoted freely yet studiously from the *Puranas* the *Yogvasishta* and the *Mahabharata*.[36] He wrote extensively on *advaita* (monism), *bhakti* (devotion), in addition to numerous other Hindu schools of thought. Mubed lauded Hindus for their 'obsession with metaphysics',[37] and also covered Shaivism, Vaishnavism, *smriti* (law), *Vedanta,* Buddhists, a textual study of the Bhagavad Gita, the *avatars* (incarnations) of Vishnu, a comparison between the concept of *samsara* (migration of souls) and the Judeo-Christian-Islamic concept of either reward or punishment in the afterlife.[38]

These Indo-Muslim scholars were significant contributors to an ecumene of comparative religious scholarship and, at times, its appropriating tendencies. Christian missionaries, for their part, were also part of this landscape. They had a longer, instructive history of activity in India which predated the coming of the British and modern colonialism. Already in the seventeenth century, Roman Catholic priests (padres, as they and Protestant missionaries, were known, even up until the late nineteenth century) were already seeking to point out the supposed 'illogical' and 'superstitious' tenants of Hinduism. Jesuits were, famously, known for attempting to convert the Mughal Emperor Akbar.[39] Yet in terms of specific attempts to appropriate Indian religious tradition, the Jesuits predated Protestants by centuries. Individuals such as Vicenzo Nobili, an Italian aristocrat, attempted to co-opt Indian religious knowledge and to cast it in a longer evolutionary trajectory.[40] Conversing with south Indian Tamil Brahmans, Nobili learnt the intricacies and nuances of Hindu philosophical systems and their cosmic worldviews, with his main aim being to refute the Hindu system, whilst concurrently casting the Brahmanical religion as 'defective Catholicism'.[41] Here was another pre-colonial example of religious appropriation. Yet more significantly, and for the purposes of our discussion below, Nobili was one of the first

Christian missionaries to point out acute similarities between Hinduism and Christianity; the triune nature of God (the Holy trinity and Brahma-Vishnu-Shiva), a priestly class as a worldly interpreter of the divine, and the worldly renouncer as devoted to God. In particular, Nobili anticipated the Fulfilment theology of Protestant Christianity by some two and a half centuries later. In doing so, he utilized Indian religious knowledge and concepts. In particular, he argued that of the four *Vedas* (*Rig, Sama, Yajur, Atharva*), the latter was perfectly manifested, perfected and made complete in Catholic Christianity.[42]

Missionaries and Europeans, moreover, were not unprecedented in pointing out and criticizing supposedly 'irrational' and 'superstitious' features of Indian knowledge and society. They were but the latest in a stream of outside observers who sought to engage with schools of Hindu thought and oft times became frustrated in the process. These observations were made of India's religious, social and cultural attributes. Ancient Greek popular comedies and puppet shows in the second century portrayed Indian chieftains as 'barbarians' who spoke gibberish and engaged in wild, sensual dances,[43] whilst Hekataios claimed earlier in the sixth century BC that Indians 'ate raw flesh'[44] and were 'strange'.[45] Herodotus described Indian social and religious practices as 'barbaric',[46] whilst others described the fanciful stories of Indian gold-digging ants as ludicrous. One Greek commentator candidly claimed that most Indian religious stories were 'composed rather to amuse than to be recorded as revelations of fact'.[47] Arab-Persian travellers and wandering scholars, with their knowledge of the rational sciences of the Koran, followed in these observations and criticisms. Centuries later, the Persian chronicler and traveller al-Beruni noted, in his *Ta'rikh-al-Hind*, the supposed illogic nature of Indian thought. He claimed that the religious beliefs and precepts of popular Hinduism and its corresponding philosophical tenants were 'simply abominable'.[48] He referred, in no uncertain terms, to what he termed the 'innate perversity' of the Hindu character.[49] Other Arab[50] and Chinese[51] travellers noted the sometimes 'baffling' conceptions of Hinduism centuries before formal European colonial rule. There were also pre-colonial disparagements of Indian society. The Buddhist pilgrims Fah-Hian and Sung-Yun, travelling in the fifth and sixth centuries, respectively, both described a dangerous and robber-infested Indian countryside. Anticipating Sleeman and the obsession with *thagi* (armed robbery of travellers) by a millennium, they noted how the Deccan was 'precipitous, and the roads dangerous'. One regularly had to pay an official for an armed escort to ensure safe travel.[52]

The fulminations of early nineteenth-century Protestants and their 'Orientalizing', disparaging rhetoric were also predated by centuries. Here, again, Catholic missions did much to lay the groundwork for later Protestant missionaries. During the seventeenth century, for example, Jesuits such as Claudio Aquaviva and Pero Francisco criticized facets of Indian religions and culture, and exhumed the 'tyrannical' pride of Brahmans as agents of the devil. These Jesuits were already barred from 'going native', from engaging in 'pagan' activities such as the wearing of the *dhoti* (loincloth), were told to explicitly eat meat and fish, and were even ordered to avoid excessive bathing.[53] The Catholic Church, highly cognizant of and coloured by its recent experiences of missionary activity in the American hemisphere, spoke of the 'false religions'[54] of India, the evil of Brahmans, and a Manichean struggle between good and evil.

As we can see, there was already a long and established tradition of both inter-religious discourse and derision of India before Protestant missionaries arrived under the ambit of colonialism. Both this comparative scholarship and attempts at religious appropriation co-existed and informed each other. It was often difficult to draw fine boundaries between these two processes. Missionaries and Indo-Muslim scholars in medieval and early modern India were already exploring the realms between different religious traditions, theologies and notions of piety and holiness, and selfishly attempting to appropriate those knowledge systems for their own purposes. The British, and later Protestant missionaries, therefore, encountered a society which was, to some degree, already labelled illogical and perplexing. Its religious, social and cultural facets had already been mocked and made an 'other' before they set foot off the Hooghly. More relevant to this book, there were already pre-modern attempts to appropriate Hinduism's religious and philosophical systems. Missionaries therefore differed from their predecessors in degree rather than in essence. They were not radically different from the Muslim gentry scholars of the pen and paper, spiritual anthropologists, wandering pilgrims and travellers who preceded them. William Carey, Alexander Duff and James Johnston, later the most poignant examples of aggressive, denigrating missionary rhetoric, merely picked up where other had unsuccessfully left off. This was a particular and, for our purposes here, significant strand of continuity between pre-colonial and British India.

The Foundations of Latter Missionary Debates and Understandings, *c.* 1770–1840

The more immediate context in which late colonial missionaries understood Hinduism and Indian tradition had their roots in larger European religious and scholarly debates during the latter eighteenth century. It was into and upon these debates and early 'Orientalist' endeavours that Anglican missionaries slipped and built, and where the theology of Fulfilment had its roots. The only difference between their predecessors was that instead of bringing the wider corpus of the Koranic rational sciences and Islamic knowledge to bear upon the Indian case, these upstart Orientalist scholars, reactionary preachers and early curious missionaries were armed with their own Judeo-Christian concepts and convictions about the cosmic sciences, religious archaeology, divine geography and Godly society with them. They also brought, as we will see, their own experiences of eighteenth-century conflict and domestic religious revival with them. Here, the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth centuries were formative. It was during this period that the intellectual foundations for late colonial engagements with Indian religions were laid.

Col. Francis Wilford[55] was a significant yet overlooked figure in this larger religious debate. Wilford himself was involved with the Company's early drive in 'knowing the country', and as member of the Bengal Engineers he found himself working for the India Survey to produce detailed maps of the upcountry and areas west of Delhi. He was also a student of ancient Indian geography. His cartographic mindset got him thinking on the ancient movements of peoples which were, in turn, the movements of religious ideas. Wilford for his part dabbled in the debate over the relationship between Christianity and Hinduism. He was particularly intrigued, given his geographical inclinations, with the idea of the *sveta-dvipa* (white island) found in the *Puranas*.[56] According to Indian tradition, this was where ancient Indians received divine knowledge from a group of fair-haired and fair-eyed wise men. Wilford, and many of his contemporaries, took this to imply that the 'wise and learned men' were in fact ancient Christians from the West. In appropriating Indian religious tradition, Wilford argued that the particular cult of Krishna, and the belief that he was an *avatar* (divine incarnation) of Vishnu, could only have resulted from this ancient meeting.[57] Early Christians, the argument went, brought with them the notion of God's divine incarnation in the person of Jesus to the ancient Hindus. This, he elaborated, could largely be explained by the vibrant trading, political and cultural links between India and Greece and Rome, and also by the fact that the *Puranas*, he seemed convinced, themselves possessed no tradition of prophethood. Wilford also toyed with a second idea; ancient Jewish migration to Gujarat and, later on, Cochin, could partially explain the transmission. There, followers of the Hebraic tradition who, in turn would have brought with them messianic ideas, would undoubtedly have had conversations with Indian religious figures and possessors of Brahmanical knowledge , working their way inland and up rivers.[58] In a way, Wilford unwittingly lay the underpinning for Christian and, at a larger level, British understandings of Hindu tradition.

Thomas Maurice was another crucial figure in this development. Influenced by Wilford, he drew similar conclusions from his studies in comparative religion. As a clergyman, Maurice began his *History of Hindostan* in 1783, and completed it in 1795.[59] Later, his *Indian Antiquities*, itself a dissertation for Oxford University, further probed the ancient lineages between India and early Christianity. He compared the ten *avatars* (incarnations) of Vishnu to the ten *sari* (a Babylonian unit equal to 3,600, with divine significance) of the ancient Chaldeans and the ten *sepiroth* (enumerations) of the Hebrew God.[60] Maurice believed these similarities could be explained by an ancient transmission of ideas from west to east. He also wrote on a topic which would later be engaged by twentieth-century missionaries and Indian religious scholars: the triune nature of the Divine. Maurice argued that the notion of the Trinity could be found amongst the ancient Egyptians, Hebrews and Zoroastrians, who in turn influenced the early Christians of Persia; they in turn influenced the Hindus of north India.[61] This could largely explain the existence of the Hindu conception of a trinity-*Brahma* as creator, *Vishnu* as preserver, and *Shiva* as destroyer. He keenly noted similarities between Brahmans and the ancient Magi; the former, he claimed, possessed traits markedly similar to the latter.[62] Although, he initially did not explicitly claim there was an ancient Christian influence upon Hinduism and the character of Krishna, he nevertheless suggested it. He did, though, prance around the idea that there might have been Christian influence upon north India during the first few centuries AD.

Yet this early polemic and attempts to appropriate Hinduism did not just reflect the colonial encounter. These works and ideas were also, significantly, mirrored and were moulded by intense intellectual debates and political conflict in Europe. Here, the European context is crucial in understanding how these debates were accelerated. French scholars writing after the Revolution (1789), such as the Comte de Volney and Charles-François Dupuis, associated with the cadre of Voltaire, offered what was perceived to be a challenge to the Godly foundations of society and stability. These French scholars were all influenced by Jean-Sylvain Bailly, who had sought to undermine the chronology of Biblical creation by establishing that the first Hindu astral observations predated Biblical creation.[63] Lumped together, Volney and Dupuis were seen by Wilford and Maurice as challenges to established religion and society. This was in part a political threat. The main challenge to established religion and society, as interpreted by Francis Wilford, Thomas Maurice and others, was the tide of what was considered French atheism.[64] Such agnosticism was lumped together with French Revolutionary Republicanism and, by extension, was interpreted as a political threat.[65] Volney for his part argued that religion (by which they meant clerical Catholicism) had no place in the future of civilization. He was part of an intellectual current which was defined by religious scepticism, which had a wide following in France, Britain and the United States.[66] What Volney famously envisioned was a latitudinarian, global spirituality – a world faith which would embrace all of humanity by underlying the commons 'truths' in all religious traditions.[67] Dupuis, for his part, argued against the established Christian religion as an institution by going to its origins. He attempted this by arguing for the centrality of sacred geometry, in particular the geometry of the sun as an object of worship, in all religious cults. He opined that the religion of the ancient Magi (wise men) greatly influenced the development of early Christianity and that, by extension, early Christians were 'plagiarists of the Magi'.[68] He included cryptic symbolism and 'occult texts' in his analyses, which tended to argue against established religion and in favour of the occult and 'pagan-type' spirituality.[69]

This perceived threat manifested itself in the realm of Orientalist scholarship on India. This was a prime example of how early Orientalist scholarship reflected not just the British-Indian encounter and the simple 'will-to-dominate'; it was moulded by a wider, intra-European intellectual landscape. It also reflected British anxiety. Maurice's ideas, for example, were given a further impetus by the ideological challenges posed by Revolutionary France and its intellectual currents. After the turn of the eighteenth century, Maurice and others grew increasingly hostile and belligerent towards this current of French intellectualism. He conflated (as did many of his time) the political manifestations of the Revolution with any accompanying intellectual movements; Voltaire, with his supposed atheism, was synonymous with political instability and revolution. In particular, Maurice took it upon himself to directly challenge the works of Dupuis and Volney. Maurice's overriding concern was to initially refute French scepticism (that 'whole French infidel school'[70] as he termed them), rather than to simply appropriate Indian religious knowledge. He called their works on universal religion and the common denominators of all moralities 'learned but pernicious',[71] in language which was not entirely dissimilar from more hidebound interpretations of Indian custom and tradition. His claims were more direct and ideologically condemning than Wilford's, arguing that, in fact, what he suggestively termed 'Brahmanical fraud' could account for such Hindu-Christian affinities. In doing so, he consequently sharpened his arguments and began to sharpen his attack on Indian tradition denying it an independent historical development. Maurice argued that the notion of divine incarnation (*avatara*), seen in the figure of Krishna, came from early Christians, who had learnt it from the ancient Chaldeans and Zoroaster – the latter, he argued, visited India and such ideas were thus imported from outside India.[72] Indian religious tradition, therefore, was not authentic and indigenous in its origins. He claimed that

> the Indians had interpolated his [Krishna's] life with passages from the spurious Gospels, which abounded in the first ages of Christianity, and ... have found their way to India ... the whole number of the Apocryphal Gospels, amounting to ... no less than thirty-nine, the Brahmins had full scope for the exertion of those fraudful acts, which, as is evident in the case of Mr. Wilford, they still continue to practise.[73]

In particular, he argued that Dupuis' and Volney's astral calculations of the Zodiac, which in part lent credence to a common mutual influence of and between Hinduism and Christianity, were in error.[74] Although much of Maurice's work was based upon rather tenuous calculations and assertions, he nevertheless was part of a reactionary movement which laid the foundations for latter nineteenth-century missionary engagements with India.

Joseph Priestley was another example of the eighteenth-century antecedents of Fulfilment ideology. He was a dissenting Churchman who found an outlet late in his life to study India and was certainly influenced by the *Asiatic Researches*[75] of Wilford and Maurice. In his treatise, *A Comparison of the Institutions of Moses with those of the Hindoos and other ancient nations*, Priestley attempted to make connections between antiquity and ancient India. He was engaging with similar debates over the origins of Indian religious tradition and authenticity. Priestley compared the rites of the ancient Druids, and religious systems of northern Europe, as markedly similar to the Vedic Hinduism of the Indo-Aryans settlers.[76] On other matters, he claimed the Biblical account of the flood was strikingly similar to the ancient Indian tales of a deluge.[77] Yet at the same time, Priestley was directing his scholarship as much towards India as he was towards 'atheistic' French intellectuals. In this sense he held the same preoccupations as Maurice and Wilford. He scathingly referred to Dupuis' work, in language which could easily have been directed towards India, as the '*in plus ultra* of infidelity'.[78]

Interestingly enough, however, Priestley himself never exuded pure confidence. In a sense, his fulminations were not so much representations of the power to 'other', as they were emblematic of his own anxiety and uncertainty during a period which witnessed significant political, religious and intellectual challenges to 'established' society and authority. Yet throughout his treatise, he does hint at a curious admiration for Indian tradition; Priestley spoke of the Indian sublime frequently, his understanding of which was not terribly dissimilar from Edmund Burke's.[79] In particular, he lauded India's superb knowledge of the astral sciences ('of which most nations were wholly ignorant'), whilst similarly claiming that the Indian story of creation possessed far more dignity and sublimity than the Greeks' ancient accounts.[80]

Yet Priestley, Maurice and Wilford, more importantly, did much to lay the intellectual seeds for Fulfilment theology. Even though Priestley lambasted the 'absurdity of the Hindoo system' which he claimed was established upon purely baseless foundations,[81] his works do suggest a subtle permeation of Enlightenment thought throughout his work and observations, which were underpinned by the belief in a common humanity and original ancestral source. He argued that 'true religion' originally derived from a common source and that humankind, at one point, were all party to such knowledge. Some societies and nations had remained stagnant, yet there were still strands of 'truth' in their religious traditions.[82] Similarly to the Indo-Muslim scholars and Catholic missionaries who preceded him, Priestly engaged with Indian tradition rather than refute it outright. This, again, was a technique adopted by missionaries in the later nineteenth century. He argued that Hindus did possess a strong conception of monotheism; that is, a Supreme Being. This proved that they knew, albeit in stagnated form, bits and pieces of what he termed 'truth'.[83] This vocabulary, again, was similar that that of Dara Shukoh, Abul Fazl and, later on, John Farquhar and his contemporaries.

Although neither a religious scholar nor a clergyman, George Forster was another individual who laid the groundwork for particular tools which later missionary educationists would utilize in their endeavours. More specifically, his experience reflected a wider intellectual, religious and social context into which latter nineteenth-century missionaries stepped. Based in Madras as a Civil Servant, Forster travelled extensively across India, from Bengal upcountry to Kashmir.[84] He published his *Sketches of the Mythology and Customs of the Hindoos* in 1785,[85] and made keen observations on the religious understandings and philosophical theologies of Brahmans. Highly appreciative of the *Purana*s and the Bhagavad Gita, he went to great lengths to demonstrate that Hindus were not the polytheists which Europeans claimed. Instead, Forster argued that the contradictions between 'Hindoo polytheism' and monotheism were, for the most part, irrelevant. Most Hindus, he claimed, had a perfectly clear understanding of one God, as 'the Supreme Being'.[86] Again, this was an exercise in theistic studies. In his works, Forster incidentally drew attention to what would later be termed and appropriated as Hindu theism by missionary scholars such as John Farquhar. This would later be an important component of the educational enterprise in Anglican mission schools.

There were also pre-existing socio-religious dynamics and contours with which missionary educationists would later engage. This was another example of how these later nineteenth- and early twentieth-century teachers were later forced to engage with Hinduism on particular terms. The main example was the role of Hindu theism. At the cusp of the nineteenth century, Meer Hasan Ali, an Englishwoman who converted to Islam and married into the Lucknow elite, offered telling insight. She was well-placed to observe. In her travels across, and ultimate residence in India, she observed that Brahmans and the 'socially elite' held an understanding of 'one over-ruling Supreme Power'. This, she claimed, was emblematic of a pre-existing theistic conception of God.[87] Ali contrasted this, as did al-Beruni and other scholars who preceded her, with the 'deplorable ignorance', polytheism and 'degrading worship'[88] of the Hindu masses, common-folk and rural devotees. A few decades later, Fanny Parks' famed travelogue, *Wanderings of a Pilgrim in Search of the Picturesque*, was another such example.[89] In her travels across India in the 1820s and in conversations with Brahmans, pundits and holy men, she noted that theism and vague deistic understandings of God were common amongst the well-educated and 'higher orders' of Hindu society.[90] And, like Ali and Beruni before her, she contrasted this with the 'lower orders' tendency to reverse idols and a polyglot of deities. Her Brahman informer relayed that: 'I believe in one great and eternal God; as for these images, it is the custom of the country to worship them; the lower orders believe in their power'.[91] This division of theological labour, therefore, was something which already existed and with which missionaries would later work.

Useful and Godly Knowledge: Education and Evangelism, *c.* 1830s–1860s

As we have seen, there was already a vibrant and voluminous debate concerning the relationship between Hinduism and Christianity before Anglican missionaries were officially allowed into Company territories (piecemeal, in 1813 and 1833). Most importantly, it was into this intellectual context that missionaries stepped. Yet, unlike their predecessors, they brought a more confrontational attitude with them. Why was there this abrupt discontinuity? Why were British Protestant missionaries so hidebound and confrontational? This can largely be explained by the evangelical revival in Britain in the latter eighteenth century[92] and a newfound sense of confidence and reactionary conservatism in the wider British imperial system as an aftermath of success in the Napoleonic and Maratha wars in western and central India.[93] Evangelicals interpreted the emergence of Britain as an imperial, Protestant nation and its defeat of Catholic France as a vindication of their faith and, by extension, a call to propagate it further. Another reason was simple the fact that missionaries were prohibited from officially working in Company territories until 1833. By painting Indians in the most degrading terms ('heathens', 'idol worshippers', etc.), domestic missionary lobbies mobilized public support in Britain to pressure Parliament – who in turn pressured the Company – to officially allow missionaries into India. Infused with a newfound evangelical purpose, coupled with imperial expansion, confidence, and a desire to be 'let in', missionaries were bellicose and unaccommodating during this pre-Mutiny period. This was also reflective in the relative paucity of deep, unsophisticated and engaging comparative religious studies undertaken by missionaries in the pre-Mutiny period. This did suggest a break with their predecessors.

Another significant difference between British Protestant missionaries and their pre-colonial predecessors, in relation to our discussion here, was in the manner in which they valued their own knowledge systems. This is where education and knowledge come into the picture more ostentatiously compared with their pre-British predecessors. Missionaries attached value to western scholarship which, they believed, could necessarily 'prove' Christian superiority. Unlike the Muslim gentry scholars of pen and paper before them, Protestant missionaries drew upon the corpus of western and classical scholarship, and not just their own theologies, to make their case. Fazl and Shukoh, for example, never explicitly attempted to utilize the corpus of Koranic rational sciences to 'prove' that Hinduism was 'false'. Protestant missionaries, by contrast, did. This debate over the symmetry between Christianity and western scholarship was one which had grown increasingly vigorous during the early to mid-nineteenth century; missionaries were often at the forefront. This was reflected in the manner in which debates over public instruction in Britain unfolded, where individuals such as John Stuart Mill and organizations such as the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (SDUK) maintained that public instruction could assist the spread of civil society, godly virtues, and, in the end (however loosely), Christianity. The coming of the Ganges steamship and the telegraph, for example, were often championed as proof of the eventual triumph of Christianity.[94] Charles Trevelyan perfectly embodied this belief. He argued that 'by the time they [Indians] have acquired a mastery over the English language, under judicious and enlightened instructors, their minds are almost metamorphosed into the text and cast of a European youth, and they cannot help by expressing their utter contempt for Hindoo superstitions and prejudices'.[95] This reflected a newfound contempt for Indian religious traditions.

During this 'age of reform' and period up until the Mutiny, there was a general consensus amongst missionaries that Christianity, western scholarship and European civilization were all intertwined. To many contemporaries, education was a means whereby Christian values and examples could be secretly invoked; this was particularly true between the 1830s and 1860s. This meant that Godly and secular western ('useful') knowledge were one in the same – the latter would facilitate advancement towards the former. European scholarship, already influenced by Christianity, could be diffused amongst both Hindus and Muslims clandestinely. This meant that in demonstrating 'truth', English education would shatter Indian religious foundations (though Hinduism was usually thought more susceptible); this would 'mop-up' Hinduism. These beliefs boiled to the surface immediately after the Indian Mutiny (1857–8), which witnessed a voluminous and bellicose evangelical reaction which continued for a few years after its costly suppression. One missionary educationist suggested that the Bible could 'be used in commenting on the literature of Europe ... to be used as a reference when the pupils read Milton or Spenser'.[96] Indians, the argument went, would be completely unaware of what was going on: 'no Hindoo would ever scent persecution, or the application of force to his conscious, in such a very distant and far-fetched connection of Government with religion as this, unless the idea were put into his head by our own advocates of an official and superfine neutrality'.[97] Revs Henry Elliot and Henry Tucker both offered an unapologetic assessment

> he [the student] enters the school premises, becomes acquainted with mathematical science, with astronomy and geometry. Naturally, he loses confidence in his own religion when he finds that it contains so many ridiculous and impossible explana-

> tions. Propositions of Euclid and Sir Isaac Newton confute the fables of the Vedas and Puranas ... their religion, therefore ... is thus ... taken from there unaware[ingly] ... it is impossible, even if we wished it, to be absolutely 'neutral' in dealing with the false religions of India; for they are so intimately blended with false science that we cannot teach the simplest lessons of true science, without contradicting the false sciences contained in their religious books ... and so far proving their religions themselves to be false.[98]

Rev. Norman Macleod was another example. He argued that the genius of Christianity lay in its flexibility. He believed that acquiring knowledge of Indian civilization would ease conversion: 'the fact is certain ... that education itself has destroyed the old world [of the east] as a system of religious belief ... as education of every kind advances, it prepares a wider field for the preacher, if the seed he sows as "the Word" is to be "understood" as to be received "into the heart"'.[99]

These beliefs were also shared by a particular and receptive group of British officials, administrators and observers, who tempered it by making it into a more moderate evangelism, particularly in the North-Western Provinces (later UP).[100] One example was Hodgson Pratt. An inspector of Bengali schools, he was intimately familiar with the manners in which Bengali students enthusiastically received their English education. Pratt observed that in schools, the demand for which was high, students showed no apprehensions to learning western knowledge. Beneath the surface, though, Pratt claimed that 'the students are daily learning to appreciate the Christian thoughts of Cowper, Pope, and Milton – indirect religious teaching by every source, without any warning whatsoever'.[101] This was a clear example of insidious Christianization.

At an ideological level, Christianity during this period was also closely intertwined with the expansion of British power and influence in the world. Missionaries aimed to win adherents to both their spiritual and, by extension, their worldly empires. At least in rhetoric, they saw no conflict between the priorities of the world and other-worldly empires. Many influential missionary educationists and commentators believed that by drawing Hindus and Muslims towards Christianity would concurrently cement them more closely to the Empire. Charles Trevelyan, reflecting the missionary cause, commented that 'we shall exchange profitable subjects for still more profitable allies...we recollect that our literature is deeply impregnated with the spirit of our beneficent religion'.[102] Echoing Macaulay's Educational Minute of 1835, one observer noted that 'so far as the Christian teacher rightly educates the heathen mind, he not only fulfils the great commands of his Divine Master, but also incidentally aids and supports the British rule'.[103] Alexander Duff, one of the most prominent and popular missionary commentators of the nineteenth century, unabashedly maintained that 'Christianity has never taught rulers to oppress, so it will never teach subjects to rebel'.[104] These again were clear examples of an evangelical-imperial nexus.

The Company's educational policy was markedly reshaped in light of all this. Sir John Wood's Educational Despatch of 1854 was reflected a movement towards reforming Indians through education. His oft-quoted despatch set the course for a modern, centralised educational bureaucracy, and recommended the establishments of universities in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. Yet more importantly and relevant to our discussion here, Wood's Despatch set up the parameters whereby schools could be given government aid for teaching a government-set curricula and adhering to centralized standards. It was an arrangement which, as we will see, was to bear irrevocably upon the ultimate diffusion of western knowledge via mission schools.

Anxiety, Influence and Change, *c.* 1860s–1920

The shock of the Mutiny and its effects, from a wider perspective, were not just catalysts for longer-term missionary ideological change. It also represented a boiling over of an imperial self-confidence, which spilled over into the missionary realm, and had peaked during the 1840s and 1850s. If anything, the effects of the Mutiny accelerated a slow movement towards more engagement with Indian religions which, as we have seen, was already transpiring – albeit initially and unabashedly confrontational. The effects of the Mutiny upon official British ideologies and the Raj were poignant and certainly long-lasting, becoming more hidebound, removed and paternalist.[105] Yet such commensurate effects upon missionary attitudes, from a longer perspective, are less easily discernible. The attitudes of missionaries involved in English education did react belligerently to the Mutiny. But it was, it must be stressed, comparatively short-lived. By the early 1870s, Anglican missionaries, in addition to other Protestant denominations working in India (mainly Scottish Presbyterians in eastern India and Bombay), were beginning to revert to the more comparative and engaging practices of religious interaction which had characterized much of the pre-colonial period. The main distinction now was that instead of elite Indo-Muslim scholars undertaking their treatises, such activities were become more popular and widely followed in Indian, British and missionary print media. Missionaries were becoming more engaging, cognizant of, and involved with Indian religious tradition and knowledge. This was purely for their own selfish reasons. They were pragmatic and understood that confrontation and disparaging would not attract Indians to their message, and would furthermore undermine their own goals: influence and, ultimately, conversion. This divergence, as we will see below,[106] was crucial in understanding the antagonisms and differing priorities between missionaries and the imperial priorities of the Raj. It was also crucial in understanding the emergence of Indian patriotism and nationalism.

The theology of Protestant Christianity needs, firstly, to be brought into the picture. The movement towards engaging more seriously and constructively with Indian religions was reflected in the manner in which theology itself was changing. Protestant theology, beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, was becoming more universal, humanistic and sophisticated in its outlook. It had come under the influence of Positivist and secular ideals, which greatly shaped the emergence of a more codified and popular theology of Fulfilment.[107] This was echoed in a wider scholarly movement towards comparative religious study and saw massive and voluminous religious discourse. It also reflected the increasing interaction with new and already-familiar Hindu, Islamic, Buddhist and Shamanistic traditions. Scholars and missionaries were attempting to make sense of the wider tapestry of faiths and morals they increasingly encountered. The famed Sanskritist Max Müller's 'Hibbert Lectures' in 1870 was an indication of this direction. His lectures began examining the universal characteristics of religion and faith.[108] Müller pointed to the marked similarities of all religions and their common traits.[109] These ideas, in turn, influenced an increasingly engaging and more-tolerant Protestant theology. It was also, at the same time, a period in which the tumultuous debates amongst Evangelicals, Anglo-Catholics and Broad Church followers over the place and efficacy of confrontational approaches in the mission field. Yet the general consensus in the mission field in north India, in particular, was that abrasive methods, as witnessed in polemic and disparagement of pre-Mutiny India, were called into question.[110]

These very liberal strands of Protestant thinking, in particular, were ascendant in the educational enterprise. The dominant strain of thinking within Protestant missionary circles, by the 1880s, albeit in a non-codified form, was that of 'Fulfilment theory'. This doctrine, as we have seen, was a latter development in missionary and European thought which had been evolving since the eighteenth century. What changed now was that it had a more clear, tangible and articulate expression. It became a significant component of the missionary educational enterprise, and it came into its ultimate culmination in John Farquhar's *The Crown of Hinduism*.[111] His work confirmed, consolidated and articulated what had begun in the latter eighteenth century, and what missionaries were moving towards in the decade after the Mutiny. Roughly put, Farquhar argued that Christianity had to complete the world's remaining faiths in order to fall in accordance with the words of the Bible: 'I have come not to destroy but to fulfil'. This was significant. One by-product of this approach was that it set up the possibility, if it was to engage seriously with non-Christian religious systems, that their activities and understandings could possibly become theist and universalistic in nature. In a way it had to be, in order to make connections with other religious systems and prove that Christianity was the ultimate progeny of the world's cornucopia of faiths.

This all had a bearing upon the missionary educationist enterprise. Fulfilment was not shared by all missionaries, but was largely adhered to by teachers and Orientalist scholars-cum-missionaries and served as a general template. Christianity, missionaries maintained, was the highest and final expressions of 'truth'. Fulfilment accepted the glimmering of truth in other faiths but ultimately insisted that they needed to be corrected. It was undoubtedly influenced by Darwin's theory of evolution, with its model that religions partially evolved, and because they originated from one original source, they all contained some degree of inherent truth. Europeans (in actuality Protestant Europeans), the first to embrace 'true' Christianity in its totality, therefore had a duty to fulfil and engage with the world's remaining faiths. What missionaries had to do was to demonstrate that Hinduism, Islam, Buddhism, Confucian philosophy and Shamanistic traditions were not 'falsehoods', as was custom before the Mutiny, but aspirations after what was called 'truth'. This usage of the term 'truth' was not all too dissimilar from the writings of Shukoh and Fazl centuries before. Religion, in the wider scheme of things, mattered more than politics, civilization and history (even though many contemporaries conflated them). In a sense, they constructed a universal history based not upon the progress of European science, reason and culture, but upon the gradual unfolding of a divine empire of truth, faith and morality.

More importantly, the influence of a Darwinian approach to religious history was a movement which had widespread currency; it was not an exclusive missionary purview. This was reflected, more famously for example, in the *nava vidha* (new knowledge) or the New Dispensation of the Brahmo Samaj and Keshab Chunder Sen.[112] Sen claimed to have received the 'fulfilling' seal of the world's faiths from God, which would perfect the religions of Islam, Christianity, Judaism, Hinduism and Buddhism. There was already an existing current in the air in which evolutionary theory permeated the study of religious history. This more global understanding of religion was similarly espoused by Müller again. In a speech to the Conference of World Religions in Chicago in 1893, he argued that 'the points on which the great religions differ are far less numerous, and certainly far less important than are the points on which they all agree'.[113] Muller himself captured the latter nineteenth-century intellectual currents of comparative religiosity and scholarship, and the degrees to which missionaries and popular scholars were engaging with the world's religious traditions.

This larger theological current was ultimately brought into the orbit of mission education and pedagogy in north India. By the 1870s missionaries were already reassessing their views regarding the relationship between Godly and secular knowledge. The experience of both the Mutiny and their initial failures in converting Indians largely informed this. They grew increasingly weary and unconvinced about championing the 'deconstructive' or clandestine effects of

Milton and Spenser upon the *Purana*s. They were all well aware that Indians had already been challenging the superiority of Christianity as based upon its knowledge systems since the 1830s.[114] With the relationship between western secular and religious knowledge increasingly uncertain, teachers engaged with their students on the basis of *their* religious tenants rather than *missionaries*' secular knowledge. Mission teachers and headmasters used this heuristic template of Fulfilment to engage their students in religious discussion. Because of its recognition of the truths of the world's religions, mission schools' approaches to Indian knowledge systems were inevitably constructive. They hoped to generate a particular type of spiritual inquiry which would compare students' own religious and spiritual tenets with Christianity's. In particular, missionaries believed that the higher and learned classes of Indian society – by which they meant Brahmans, Kayasthas and other communities with pre-existing traditions of learning and education – would be amenable to such discourse. Informed by a hardened post-Mutiny religious atmosphere, teachers understood that they could not be overly-vocal religious propagators and proselytizers. They had to relate their faith to that of their students, if any success was to be expected. Students were thus to be shown 'the facts', and decide for themselves regarding the 'truth' which was presented.

Educational missionaries in the Gangetic north and its peripheries largely reflected these wider currents in their experiences in educating Indian students. Teachers often argued that in conversing with their students they '[found] truth, though greatly disfigured'.[115] The missionary, noted Edmund Willis, ought to 'recognise all that is good and true in their own [religious] systems',[116] whilst George Westcott of the SPG, involved in education in Delhi and with St Stephen's College, wrote

> [I have been] doing what I can to study Hindu reform movements with a view to discovering how best we may make the Gospel truth acceptable to educated Indians without prejudice by natural pride in their national literature and thought...an attempt to treat religious problems in a sympathetic spirit would, I am sure, be welcome to many educated Indians ... showing sympathy with all that is best in Indian thought and belief, and showing that it has its Fulfilment in the Gospel.[117]

One CMS teacher in Mirzapur maintained that 'if Christianity is ultimate, and is fit to be a universal religion, then it must be shown to be related to Buddhism, Brahmanism, Confucianism and others and perhaps all indigenous religions somewhat as it is to Judaism'.[118] Hinduism, it was argued, possessed beams of divine truth in the *Rig Veda*, Upanishads, and the Bhagavad *Gita*. Krishna's incarnation was compared to that of Jesus, whilst the message of the *Gita* was likened to the Gospel.

Many of these assertions were clearly disparaging. Yet they were by no means absolute. These debates reflected, more importantly, a significant degree of constructivism and engagement with Indian religious knowledge which was necessary in the first place. Fulfilment has been interpreted by some scholars as being a religious copy of a condescending and Eurocentric nineteenth-century western liberalism.[119] Yet this clearly misses the point. It had an ultimate bearing upon the diffusion of both religious and secular western knowledge. Moreover, it did not prevent students, saints and scholars from either contesting the terms of debate or from participating in them.

Conclusion

As we have seen, the context and parameters for religious debate and missionary understandings of Hinduism and India were laid before the formal establishment of British dominance upcountry from Bengal. Importantly, missionaries differed in degree from their pre-colonial Indo-Muslim gentry scholars and spiritual anthropologists rather than in essence. The distinguishing factor was the degree to which pious Protestants believed their knowledge systems were intertwined with their religion. This, combined with the evangelical revival of the latter eighteenth century and a wider, newfound imperial self-confidence, largely explained the confrontational and disparaging methods utilized in their initial encounters with Indian religions. The Mutiny had the effect of weaning missionaries away from confrontations with Indian religions, especially with the religious grievances which purportedly underlie many of the tensions of behind the uprising.[120] They also realized that their pugnacious efforts had attracted little in the way of converts. These were significant examples of how missionary methods and understandings were, in the long term, shaped by Indian society itself rather than purely by metropolitan influence. Ranajit Guha has famously argued that India needed to be historicized before it could be accessed.[121] This entire project and engagement with India's religious origins was, certainly, a story of an attempt to appropriate her history. Yet in the case of Fulfilment and missionary interactions with India's religious history, this was not simply a product of the European 'will-to-dominate'. It was also, as we have seen, reflective of the influence of European conflict, wider intellectual debates and their colonial antecedents. Indian social realities also, in the end, had a central bearing upon the latter nineteenth and early twentieth-century missionary educational enterprise, and it was not just missionary methods which were informed and moulded by Indian society. The very emergence of missionary education and the British decision to indirectly support it were also influenced by the realities of post-1857 India. It is to the topic of official British anxiety and Indian society in the emergence of missionary education that the next chapter turns.

2 BRITISH FEARS AND INDIAN SOCIETY IN THE EMERGENCE OF NORTH INDIAN EDUCATION, *c.* 1860–1920

The British were able to hold onto their Indian empire after the Mutiny because they controlled the armed forces and were able to buttress the lower tiers of the Raj's bureaucracy with a steady stream of English-literate clerks, inspectors and translators. Education was important, if not indispensable, to the Indian empire. But it was by no means a monolithic and consistent policy. One of the aims of this chapter is to demonstrate how fractured, complicated and *ad hoc* the entire enterprise was. Missionary education in northern India was a prime example. These mission schools did not exist in a vacuum, but were intricately related to larger questions of piety and pennies. This chapter argues that these institutions were sought out as a neutral conveyor of knowledge and religious instruction that would neither be agnostic nor fan the flames of Hindu-Muslim religious rivalry. The UP Government also, importantly, gave financial backing to Anglican mission schools because they alleviated an already perilous state of finances. Secondary and higher education were particularly expensive, and the British could not have possibly met the demand for such instruction without seeking recourse to private initiative. These factors all converged to greatly inform the UP Administration's decision to outsource secondary and higher education. The willingness to heavily subsidize these mission schools was a product of very real predicaments of financial penury and their own coloured perceptions of Indian morality and religion. It would be simplistic to say that there was unsaid, covert collaboration between missions and government. Yet by the same token, Government aid was important. The distribution of grants to schools would ultimately have an irrevocable bearing upon both the diffusion of 'useful knowledge' and the schools' ability to alter Indian religious thinking and 'tradition'.

Here, a wider comparative approach offers some useful insights. The UP and Indian governments were undoubtedly anxious and fretful when it came to issues of religious education after 1857. Recent studies have demonstrated that Tsarist Russia was even more timid in its willingness to provide Russian education in Turkestan, out of fear that combined with the Tsar's association with Eastern Orthodox Christianity, it would upset local Islamic religious sensibilities. Compared to India, there was little to no demand for Russian education in recently conquered Turkestan.[1] In east Africa and the Niger delta valley, the British were equally hesitant about significantly funding English higher education. This was less for religious reasons, and more out of a fear of intellectually and politically empowering Africans. Yet like India, there were voluminous, consistent and pressing demands for English education in east and west Africa – many saw education as a right.[2] The comparisons with India are insightful. In the Turkestan and African cases, both the British and Russians were weary of introducing a substantial programme of education with centralized government control. Both feared that such a rapid 'westernising' programme would not only upset local sensibilities but would, more importantly, give their subjects the means with which to ultimately challenge their colonial masters. Perhaps one of the few exceptions was in South Africa after the conclusion of the South African War. Here, Lord Milner and his 'Kindergarten' cadre looked to introduce an English education system with the effect of de-nationalizing the recently-conquered Boers and counter an Afrikaner republican threat to British dominion.[3] Yet on the whole, the Russians and, later the British in other parts of India and the empire, certainly drew their own lessons from the expansion of education in Bengal and the explosive and potentially 'dangerous' growth of education amongst the *bhadralok*, with the concomitant degrees of political consciousness and criticism of colonial rule. Like the Russians north of the Oxus, the British were far less enthusiastic about replicating Macaulay's spirit beyond the shores of the subcontinent. Within India, the British were weary about proliferating English education, yet at the same time they needed Indians to keep the Raj running. It is to this contradiction - and its significance - the following sections turn.

Morality and Religion: Predicaments and the Moralities of Knowledge, *c.* 1860–1920

British predicaments with Indian religion and morality after 1857 ultimately brought the Department of Public Instruction (the precursor of the Education Department) into the orbit of Anglican mission schools. Anxiety over 'communalism' and religious sensibilities in the educational arena guaranteed that mission schools would be part of any educational policy. The post-Mutiny Raj found itself in a predicament which was largely of the East India Company's own making. During the first half of the nineteenth century, the Company, by initially styling itself as a patron of religious and educational establishments, exposed itself to the growing evangelical and useful knowledge movements of the 1830s and 1840s. Effectively, the Company laid such a groundwork, largely inevitable due to its own early resolution to serve as patron of the *mandir* (temple), *madrassah* (Islamic seminary) and Sanskrit school (*vidyapith*).[4] Indians had always seen the *sarkar* (Government) as the patron of (usually religious) learning and the support which evangelistically-sympathetic administrators lent to missionaries did much to shatter the legitimacy of the British in Indian eyes. The post-Mutiny period, in a way, was a concerted effort by the British to salvage as much of the mess they had initially created. This was reflected in the manner in which the British approached the issue of religious education after the 1860s.

Firstly, and very importantly, it is important to establish how the British largely viewed religion and religious knowledge. The state approached issues of religion and morality with a degree of bookishness. Officials and administrators simply did not know students well enough to gauge religious and cultural knowledge, and instead relied on statistical surveys and the testimonies of subordinate officials. Knowledge of students' cultural and religious tendencies, in addition to general colonial knowledge had become more ossified and removed.[5] The famed Punjab ethnographer Denzil Ibbetson, for example, admitted that 'our knowledge of the customs and belief of the people among whom we dwell [is] nothing compared to our ignorance'.[6] Robert Needham Cust referred to the masses of Indian students 'of whose aspiration and of whose genius we are utterly ignorant'.[7] Cust and Ibbetson spoke to how removed and impersonal late colonial knowledge had become. Official British attitudes and knowledge tended to be more removed, less intimate and more insouciant in cultural and human knowledge as the nineteenth century wore on.[8] This can partly account for many of the confrontations and misunderstandings that occurred towards the latter nineteenth century over, for example, temple management, the laying of sewage and water pipes, and sanitizing health measures in urban centres. Official and Anglo-Indian knowledge of the pulse and inner workings of Indian society was even more limited when it came to students with shared educational experiences. E. M. Forster's famed novel *A Passage to India* noted how Major Callendar was blind to the growing social networking amongst western-educated Indians. He was convinced that caste and 'tradition' would inevitably prevent such associations and, ultimately, any organized agitation against British rule.[9] This was, in fact, an accurate depiction of the limits of the colonial state's understanding of Indian society, and the degree to which the British increasingly perceived it as religious and traditional.

The tendency to view Indian society as inherently religious and 'traditional' informed the Government's dealings with moral and religious education and, ultimately, their decision to stay aloof from it. The British were simplistic and quick to generalize. Specifically, this precluded officials from comprehending a theistic Indian morality which drew upon 'tradition' and Hinduism. When British administrators such as Sir Alfred Croft discarded the Brahmo Samaj's theism as the 'new wine of western evolutionary science poured into the old bottles of Hindu philosophy',[10] they spoke just as much out of apprehension towards *babu-*

dom (English-educated clerks) as of their own removed, aloof understandings. Croft, for his part, also underestimated the value of Indian 'tradition' as a 'modern' force. One UP Government report stated that 'religion and morality, which should go hand in hand are in this country too often inevitably separated'.[11] Again, this was a simplistic assertion. Another official, responding to critics of the acute institutional secularism of the post-Mutiny Raj, argued that Hinduism itself possessed no morality, and that this could only come about through 'discipline' in school-religious education along Hindu lines could not enforce what the British perceived as morality. He argued that 'the former [school discipline] is so closely allied to moral training as to cover a part of the same ground'.[12]

Education officials and administrators, on the whole, were weary about Hindu-Muslim antagonism in the educational realm. This informed an increasing sense of British conservatism and over-sensitivity in post-Mutiny India.[13] Hindus and Muslims, it seemed, had different educational priorities. It was feared that sanctioning either a Hindu or Muslim initiative, at the expense of the opposite, would feed communal rivalry to an unmanageable degree. This was inimical, at least in theory, to the legitimacy of the Raj in being a self-professed neutral arbiter of religious affairs. The UP Government for its part was already fearful of overly antagonizing and marginalizing those members of the *ashraf* (noble) north Indian Muslim class who witnessed their share of Government employment rapidly decline after the 1860s.[14] This was an underlying concern during the Mayo Commission of the 1870s, which dealt with Muslim educational issues and sought to address the 'backwardness' of Muslims in education.

There were, however, particular (though not absolute) differences between Hindus and Muslims when it came to religion's role in the classroom. Muslim educational initiatives on the whole tended to be more religiously-oriented. A particular debate, for example, surfaced in the United Provinces over the possible introduction of religious and moral instruction in Government schools. Nawab Mustafa Hussein of Amroha sent to the Department of Public Instruction a proposal for religious instruction in state-schools out side of classroom hours. Muslims started petitioning the Government back in the 1870s and 1880s under the leadership of Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan for religious instruction.[15] The Nawab, for his part, drew up a proposal for pupils to receive *maktab* and *madrassah*-style instruction in Government schools in the hours after class.[16] He insisted that pupils, ever since the advent of western education in India, had been longing to recover the religious instruction which previously could count on state patronage. The Nawab envisioned himself as a salvager of such support. A flurry of correspondence between the Nawab, district collectors and the Director of Public Instruction ensued. When the petition was released in 1890, the Director of Public Instruction, Charles White, shot down the idea, arguing that it would breach the government's commitment to neutrality.[17] The Nawab, claiming to represent the interests of Muslims in the United Provinces, reasoned that Hindu and other non-Muslim students would welcome a return to more 'traditional' forms of pedagogy. Nawab Abdul Latif,[18] the Secretary of the Mohammedan Literary Society, argued similarly. He admitted that Muslims were more likely to avail themselves of religious instruction, and that Hindus generally did not, both for their own reasons and because they took to English education so quickly. Latif was particularly averse to the introduction of an agnostic and secular moral textbook, but he confided that this was more suitable for Hindus.[19] Most Hindu students, he further reported, gave up their religious teaching and devoted their entire attention to secular instruction. Latif lamented that 'the minds of students are so filled with secular studies that religion drops out of their view.'[20] Thomas Holderness, later Director of Public Instruction, observed this with a degree of simplicity: 'the matter of religious education was taken up by Mohammedans ... it is merely a matter of rivalry with the Hindus'.[21] In fact, it was cited that the Muslim Educational Conference (MEC) was so intent on having religious instruction in Government schools and during school hours, that they even petitioned the Director of Public Instruction to amend the rules of the 1854 Educational Despatch – which established government neutrality in education.[22] The measure was supported by other Muslim organizations, primarily the MEC again in 1912.[23]

Hindu educational initiatives, on the other hand, tended to be more secular. Hindu societies, cognizant of the Nawab's and MEC's proposals, felt it was inappropriate and backward to introduce such instruction.[24] This was corroborated by both Indian and British observers. Examples of indigenous Hindu schools were cited by the 1882 Education Commission: five out of every six schools, including 'traditional' institutions such as *pathshala*s and *tol*s, were found to be purely secular and offered no religious instruction.[25] At the Commission, Tata Ram reported that many indigenous Hindu schools were now using the very 'secular' Government school textbooks, and with much enthusiasm to boot.[26] Claude de la Fosse, another Director, reported that 'Hindus consider that the home is the proper place in which religion should be taught'[27] whilst his predecessor Thomas Holderness also observed that 'there is practically no desire among educated Hindus to teach or create [classes in religion]'.[28] In these instances British officials were largely accurate. At the 1911 Educational Conference, Gopal Krishna Gokhale reported that in schools where religious instruction was given, even the *Bhagavad Gita* was taught not as a religious text but as a moral one.[29] Students with whom he was familiar were enthusiastic about it not so much because of its glorification of Hinduism, but because it championed civic and humanistic moralities.[30] Pundit Sundar Lal, another delegate, observed that in colleges, religious instruction for Hindu boys between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one could only be imparted along theistic lines. To instruct them in the tenets of Hindu cosmology and mysticism, even in *pathshalas* and *tols*, would provoke either a backlash or general indifference at best; students were more concerned with examinations and the material benefits of education.[31] Another delegate, Subramani Aiyan, observed that religious instruction would never be effective, or even demanded, so long as it was not part of an examinable curriculum: 'the [religious] teaching was not a success, because religion is not a subject for examination and hence it does not pay the students to attend such classes'.[32] The students' drive for advancement was recognized by many, who suggested that religion, if it were to garner student attention, would have to be made a university subject; only then would students devote time to it.

There were further examples of how Hindus perceived the pedagogical realm rather differently. The Secretary of the British-Indian Association, Mohan Mukherjee, corroborated these findings, urging that it was 'a matter of doubtful expediency to think of introducing religious education in Indian schools and colleges when the tendency of modern times everywhere is to secularize education'.[33] The Bihar Landholders' Society, which had many times spoken and written on educational issues, was against systematic religious instruction. But it was in favour of general instruction in ethics and secular forms of morality.[34] Their secretary, Prashad Sen, observed that even pundits who taught at their *tols* cared little for their *chelas* (students), for instructors received higher pay and were content merely with that.[35] Even if the opportunity was there, Prashad believed that it 'would recommend itself to a few'.[36]

The Department nevertheless went on to entertain the idea of encouraging religious instruction outside of prescribed school hours. This was largely because the system itself was somewhat vague when it came to 'secularism' in terms of the connection between religion and the public purse. Yet it also undertook the experiment due to north Indian Muslim pressure, whom the British were careful not to antagonize too much. Nawabs Abdul Latif and Mustafa Hussein were seen as more traditional representatives of north Indian Muslims than those of the westernizing Sayyid Ahmad Khan, and henceforth commanded more respect and legitimacy. This was, in fact, largely in line with an unpronounced post-Mutiny policy of reconciling Muslims to British rule. But the British found that, outside of Amroha, such opportunities fell on deaf ears. The Nawab's plea turned up to be unrepresentative of the larger Muslim community. There was but one successful trial run of religious instruction after school hours in the Government high school in Amroha.[37] Yet even this was short-lived. Claude de la Fosse observed that

> as to the inquiry to what extent advantage has been taken of the liberty to give religious instruction, I find occasional but scanty references to the subjects in the quinquennial report in the chapter on moral instruction. At the present time the liberty to give religious instruction is not availed of in any Government or District

> Board school ... all are to the same effect, namely, that the circular was practically a dead letter.[38]

Thomas Lewis, another Director, the following year admitted that Indians' desire for explicitly religious education was by and large wanting. Lewis himself was a stern secularist. He argued that such a scheme for religious instruction would be out of the question, even if all of India were Christian![39]

Hindus and Muslims, as we have seen, still had different perceptions over the role of religion in the classroom. The Department was keen to avoid any inflammation of religious communalism in this respect. Lewis and Holderness, for example, felt that religious instruction would exacerbate religious sensitivities which would in turn 'intensify religious differences, which are already a source of some difficulty to the administration',[40] and would 'strengthen prejudices which are inconsistent with the intellectual progress of the country'.[41] This was ultimately wound up with the security and stability of the Raj. Lewis went so far as to accuse Muslims of inflaming communal tensions – they were fully aware that Hindus preferred to keep matters of religion outside the educational sphere.[42] He commented that 'the feeling between the two sects, bitter as it often is, would unquestionably be still more embittered if we were to venture upon the rash experiment of providing religious education'.[43]

Yet on the same token, the Department was equally anxious about imparting an agnostic 'natural religion' to recompense for the officially rigid secularism of the colonial government. This greatly coloured administrators' perceptions of Indian morality. It was feared that attempting to impress upon students a vague, secular moral textbook was no better than religious education. It would also open the Government to charges of agnosticism. Godless secularism might also be construed as a deviation from Queen Victoria's Proclamation (1858), which promised British neutrality on Indian religious matters. Officials were convinced that agnostic instruction would be an affront to Indian religious sensibilities. The 1882 Education Commission, for example, was weary of 'hurting the susceptibilities of orthodox men holding a particular religious view'.[44] The possibility of more general and utilitarian forms of Indian morality was precluded: 'no more fatal blow could be struck by the State at the morality and religion of its subjects than by teaching the children at schools the principles of what their admirers are pleased to call natural religion or natural morality'.[45] One official argued that it was 'impracticable in practise to give effect to it without the danger of religious scruples',[46] whilst another termed such instruction 'utilitarianism under a thin disguise'.[47]

In particular, the idea of issuing a textbook on 'natural religion' was briefly entertained. But it was quickly abandoned. This was a prime example of how sensitive the British were about imparting non-traditional religious ideas and any religious controversy for that matter. 'Natural religion' and morality might be politically convenient and avoid inflaming communal tensions, but it also had the potential to offend Indian religious sentiment. Discussions of vague 'authors of nature' and 'supreme being' might have the possibility to offend Muslim students, whilst references to the equality of all beings could, possibly, offend more orthodox Hindu students. Some officials argued that, although in theory a good idea, natural religion was 'merely utilitarianism, with a vague and indefinable religious sanction ... [this] would not be to maintain the principle of religious neutrality ... [it] might be misconstrued into an attack on all supernatural religion'.[48]

This is where Christian mission schools came into the Department's orbit. Departmental anxieties over communal tension ensured that these schools were needed in addressing issues of moral and religious instruction. Departmental officials were weary of aggressively pushing through with measures to directly fund religious instruction, yet at the same time understood that it needed to counter Indian and missionary claims that Government education was 'Godless', agnostic, and secular. Mission institutions could be subsidized for the secular, government-prescribed knowledge they imparted. The government would not be paying for religious education, and the moral-orientation of missionaries would, what is more, permeate the secular instruction offered. They effectively offered a more 'neutral' form of religious education, which whilst neither Hindu nor Islamic, was more importantly not agnostic. Yet this was a tentative and shaky compromise, susceptible to Indian influence.[49]

Apart from their necessity, mission schools also offered a more 'personal' education which was thoroughly lacking in a bureaucratized and increasingly impersonal government system of schools, examinations, affiliations and paperwork. Department officials were aware of this and saw mission schools as a useful counterbalance to the charges of impersonal and bureaucratized Government education. It was also reflective of how the perceived Indian religions to lack 'morality'. One official commented that 'the extent to which a student acquires a moral tone ... seems to me to depend chiefly upon the personal character of the teacher ... an association with an English gentleman was 'more likely to produce a good tone than the most assiduous perusal of a textbook'.[50] When Queen's College, Banaras, needed to choose a new head instructor, Robert Smeaton argued that a personable Englishman would make more of an impression than any moral text,[51] whilst F. W. Thomas reported that 'to expect much from the mere use of a textbook would be absurd'.[52] The way to influence pupils was through a teacher's 'character'. The Department realized that missionaries could do much more in this respect than paid Government employees, and were convinced that 'the careful selection and training of teachers provide the most effectual method of establishing a good moral tone in a school'.[53] What was desired was the formation of student character, and, ultimately, submission to authority. One Indian inspector, P. C. Mumuzdar, reported after assessing hundreds of schools in UP, that 'in training the youthful mind, personal influence has much more effect than mere textbooks'.[54]

Department officials also wanted to set examples of private initiative which would ease the burden upon their already parched coffers. Mission schools could do this. Informed by their own myopia and a desire to avoid communal and religious antagonism, the Department believed that the solution to recovering Hindu and Islamic religious education lay in the responsibilities of the Indian people. It also absolved the British from the responsibility of religious education. This was significant, for this was a central premise upon which to subsidize such education. Mission schools were to be set as an example to spur Hindu and Muslim organizations to open schools of their own, on an aided footing. In a speech at Allahabad University, the Director of Public Instruction poignantly stated that 'the weakening of religious faith is one of the greatest calamities that can befall a man or people ... [but] it is to the people themselves that we must look for help'.[55] This was a prime example of how aloof officialdom became from religious education.

Considering all of these factors, propagating missionaries – by contrast – knew their students at a more personal and intimate level. They associated with Indian society to a degree which was unthinkable in Anglo-Indian and administrative circles. This was one significant reason why the UP Government ultimately decided to aid mission schools extensively. They steered the middle ground between two undesirable educational scenarios. Officials such as Lewis, Boutflower and de la Fosse certainly had some reservations about allowing missionaries, unquestionably proselytizing societies in theory, to have a large share of education in the epicentre of the Mutiny. Yet the more acute consequences of having to choose between 'communal' religious or agnostic education were of greater, more over-ruling importance. Moreover, the technical workings of aided education were to ensure that missionaries could neither abuse the system nor offend Indian sensibilities.[56]

Financial Penury and Indian demand for Education, *c.* 1860s–1910s

Moral and religious factors were not alone in shaping the emergence of the missionary educational enterprise. Money was the other main determining factor. The United Provinces' finances were characterized by incessant penury and lacked the revenues to undertake extensive educational endeavours. The Department had particular difficulty in meeting Indian demand for instruction. This was a continuum of the demand which predated Macaulay in select parts of western, southern and eastern India, and the later massive expansion of English education in UP during the 1860s and 70s.[57] If anything, Indians increasingly demanded access to English and Anglo-vernacular education as a matter of right. Here was another example of how the British had to work with the grain of Indian social realities. This equally informed the decision to subsidize secondary and higher education, as much as did the wrangling questions of morality and religious instruction. The colonial state did pursue, as Krishna Kumar has argued, a colonial education project by establishing institutions and superstructures to buttress colonial rule.[58] But, upon closer inspection, it was not always effective. Sir William Lee-Warner, the influential historical systematizer of the Indian princely states, admitted that if education truly cemented Indians to the Raj, then the British would have lavished unlimited amounts of money on schools and colleges across India (and the Empire).[59] This was something which the British never even came close to achieving, as education never constituted more than 4% of the Raj's annual budget.

Education in north India was henpecked by concerns of the very real and very financial. The UP Government, from the 1860s up until around the 1910s, was in a chronic state of financial precariousness.[60] The Department was aptly charged with running the most 'backward' educational systems in the subcontinent. Observers pointed to not only the stolid conservatism of the Gangetic plain, but also to the lack of funds. Annual reports were laden with references to inadequate funds for the educational programmes which other provinces, such as Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, were relatively more able to afford. The Bombay Presidency, as a case in point, earmarked Rs. 245 per thousand of the population; the United Provinces mustered a mere Rs. 80.[61] One official commented that 'the root of the evil unquestionably is the utter inadequacy the educational allotments and their smallness in comparison with the sums spent on the same objects in other parts of India'.[62] The Government of India observed that they were 'well aware of their backwardness in the matter of education and how unfavourably their [UP's] expenditure upon it compared with that in other provinces'.[63] The Simla Educational Conference (1901), and the subsequent Universities Act (1904), which called for and achieved the centralization of university and secondary education, ran into serious difficulties in UP. The Department proposed taking over 39 different high schools in accordance with orders from the Indian Government. But the plan was eventually shelved because there was no money for it. The strain on funds from the north Indian famine (1896–7) had already seriously dented general revenues.[64] The quality of Government education that was provided was also poor because of the meagre allotments it was given. John Nesfield, testifying before the Educational Committee of 1882, exclaimed 'what hope is there of reaching the heart or brain of a man who is educated at the cost of four rupees a year'?[65] The Department that very year was forced to request Rs. 6 lakhs from the Indian Government due to its own indigence.[66]

The UP Government's financial shortcomings greatly informed its dealings with mission education. When it came to choosing particular public projects, choices were strongly dictated by the bottom line. The decision over an old building in Dehra Dun, for instance, was a prime example of the underlying issue of cost. Here, the Department was faced with the question of whether to lease a plot of land to the American Presbyterian Mission for the purposes of a school. An old *tahsil* (sub-district) building was leased, and the Government praised the 'noble educational work' of the mission.[67] But the Department went out of its way to convince locals that the lease was driven by finance – the cost to the UP Government was nil, upon both state and municipal funds, whilst there was a net social gain.[68] There had originally been a plan to construct a railway through this very area, but Government realized that a school would cost nothing. The railway, for which there was less of a demand and need, would have been infinitely more expensive, with its costs of labour, material and capital investments.[69]

The reasons for the Department's own financial woes were specific yet significant. Education in UP was comparatively expensive. This was greatly informed by the multifaceted and provincial system of education the British ran. The per-pupil price of education was higher than in any other Indian province. Students in UP were more expensive to educate, but this did not necessarily mean that they received commensurate funding. The costs of educating a student in UP were usually three times greater than in other parts of India. They received half that of their peers south in Madras, or west in the Punjab, and one-third of those west in Bombay[70]

Table 1: Costs of educating a single pupil in UP, Bengal, and Madras, 1910:[71]

Province	University	Secondary	Primary
Bengal	Rs. 153	18.3	2.7
Madras	Rs. 204	20.9	4.1
UP	Rs. 221	38	9.2

Table 2: Per-capita expenditure on education in various provinces of India, 1904:[72]

Bombay	Madras	Bengal	Punjab	UP
Rs. 308	Rs. 208	Rs. 160	Rs. 152	Rs. 96

In the Banaras District, for instance, the one Government-run high school cost Rs. 24,357 per annum to administer, whereas a comparable aided one cost only Rs. 9,012.[73] The average cost of educating one student in a Government high school was Rs. 19.2 p.a., whilst in an aided schools is was Rs. 11.8.[74] When added up, this possibly translated into substantial savings for an already cash-strapped Department.

There were instructive socio-demographic reasons why instruction was so expensive. The first was mainly due to the province's large population. This necessitated that a disproportional inspecting staff was employed to make sure that schools were efficient and under 'competent' management. The Department consequently was saddled with a top-heavy bureaucracy which depleted at its already parched coffers. Less money was spent on actual instruction and more on inspection, staff, paperwork, travelling expenses and salaries. Inspecting staffs, in fact, constituted the single largest category of expenditure in the education budget

Table 3: Inspecting staff ratios in selected provinces in India, 1897:[75]

Province	**Pupils to Inspecting Staff**	**Schools to Inspecting Staff**
Madras	10,971	385
Bengal	7,914	152
Bombay	6,112	247
Punjab	6,118	202
United Provinces	3,992	139

Secondly, high schools studies were bifurcated. This entailed more inspection and more frequent examinations, as recommended per the 1882 Education Commission.[76] With the impetus given to the promotion of primary education after the 1882 Commission, the annual costs of around Rs. 9 were far more palatable than those disproportionately higher ones involved with secondary and higher instruction. This was crucial for aided mission schools, which by law had to charge lower fees than those of Government schools and would thus defray per-capita and aggregate costs.

The educational system administered by the UP Government was also underfunded in terms of the amount of fee income derived from student attendance. This was another example of how education had to work with Indian social realities. This was particularly important, for it ensured that the Department's finances would be subject to the vagaries of land-derived revenue, which were themselves subject to famine, drought and flooding, rather than the revenues available from a stable student population. Roughly eighty percent of UP's population were involved in agriculture. Compared to the urban *bhadralok* of greater Calcutta, students in north Indian schools were less likely to pay full fees or to pay for higher forms of Government-run education. Many Indians in the Gangetic plain interpreted education as a right – almost a form of welfare. There were a few examples of *Khattri* students' parents pulling their sons out of mission and government schools when they received a tuition fee larger than they expected. This meant that fee-derived revenues were consequently not only small but also volatile. In fact, one-fifth of all pupils had their fees waved by the Government on the account of poverty.[77] This greatly cut into the Department's revenues. By 1910, Claude de la Fosse was convinced the Department was facing an inevitable financial catastrophe: 'the whole fabric of higher education so laboriously built up may [soon] crumble and collapse by a continual sapping of the foundations in this way'.[78]

Table 4: Incomes derived from fees in various provinces of India, 1887:[79]

Province	**% of Income from Fees To Total Expenditure (Gov).**	**% of Income from Fees To Total Expenditure (GIA)**
Madras	42.8	47.8
Bengal	44.9	34.5
Bombay	44.7	28.3
Punjab	10.2	6.5
United Provinces	7.7	2.9

Table 5: Fees in Gov. and GIA colleges in India, 1884–8:[80]

Province	**Gov. College**	**GIA College**
Bengal	80	45
Bombay	83	58
Madras	62	47
United Provinces	45	27
Punjab	21	24

Raising fees in high schools was also dangerous since the demand for secondary and higher education was highly elastic. Any increase in fees, administrators feared and found, had a negative impact upon the Department's net receipts.[81] Colleges and high schools also charged lower fees compared to other provinces, which further exacerbated the problem. This ensured that the system was perpetually under-funded. When all aided schools had to raise their fees in 1887 according to the UP Department of Public Instruction's ruling, John Hewlett of the LMS protested vehemently and saw enrolment at his Banaras College drop by one hundred students as a result of the hike,[82] whilst Ramsay College saw a similar decrease.[83] The inadequate fee income fiscally parched the Department, and they often requested substantial assistance from the Indian Government.[84] During the 1887 fiscal year, as a case point, the Department had taken in a paltry Rs. 58,000 in receipts, whilst incurring expenditures of Rs. 410,000![85] The problem was recurrent between 1870 and 1920, and was recognized by the UP Government Secretary, Lawrence Thornton.[86] His colleague, William Marris, observed that 'we spend from public funds on English secondary education as much as we do from fees, whereas Bombay spends about half, and Madras and Bengal about one third'.[87] Thomas Lewis remarked that the UP Government was, in light of such conditions, exceptionally liberal and generous in aided expenditures considering its already pitiful state of revenues.[88]

These were all examples of the sociological context of education in north India. These limitations of population pressure, overwhelming predominance of agricultural communities, and highly elastic demands for education, were all examples of the very realities with which the British had to deal. No simple dictum by Macaulay could have overcome these. There were also issues of prioritization which sapped the system from within. The Department spent most of its funds on primary rather than secondary and higher education. One Director, Richard Griffiths, bluntly suggested to Indians demanding English education that 'instruction in English can be obtained, if required, at one of the aided schools'.[89] Griffiths and subsequent Directors eschewed their responsibility for secondary and higher education continuously. The area of primary education, instructively, was relatively untouched by Anglican missionaries; they were more dominant in the realms of secondary and higher education. The 1882 Education Commission, for example, urged the UP Government to aid more secondary and higher educational institutions. Yet even before then it was spending more in percentage terms on primary education than any other province in British India

Table 6: Composition of educational expenditures, 1881–2:[90]

Province	**University**	**Secondary**	**Primary**
Bengal	26.7%	33.7	29.1
Bombay	20	29	39.1
NWP & Oudh	8.6	18.6	53

Table 7: Provincial educational expenditure on primary education, 1905–6:[91]

	UP	**Bombay**	**Madras**	**Punjab**	**Bengal**
Expenditure	1,977,200	1,879,828	1,457,519	676,047	667,000

High Schools and Colleges in Bengal, by contrast, were given a recognizably larger share of educational funds than the United Provinces.[92] This divergence from other provinces was emblematic of a specific policy on the part of the UP Government, which grew weary of proliferating high schools and colleges and student political consciousness. The Mutiny – which was widely interpreted as a reaction against westernizing and modernizing impulses – in this respect did have long term influence the UP administration's policies. Prioritizing primary education in the village and *mofussil* was fully in accord with this understanding. Lawrence Thornton, a Department official, stated that creating more colleges and high schools was 'not comparable with that of lifting a larger portion of the population out of total ignorance'.[93] District Boards, because of the newly-revitalized priority in funding primary education (especially after 1904), found the costs of Government high schools to be a severe strain on the *taluk* (district) accounts. Thus, the UP Government took over the management and financial responsibilities of these schools, leaving the Boards with more money to fund primary schools.[94] Yet the provision of boys' primary education remained the chief responsibility of the Department. There was an acute hesitancy in allowing missionaries to provide primary education, fearful of the charge that Government was not adhering to religious neutrality by allowing missionaries to materially induce poor and impressionable village youngsters to convert (i.e., 'Rice Christians'). This was reflected in the number of schools which it kept under its control: by 1910 out of 6,385 state-run institutions, 5,376 were primary vernacular schools for boys.[95]

Funds were also running thin due to the fact that the UP Government had a comparatively firmer grip on education than in other provinces. In terms of Government grants as percentages of total expenditure, other provinces, such as Bengal and Madras, aided more schools as a percentage of total outlays. They had relatively more funds for alternative educational expenditures. The UP Government was under such duress because it spent less in percentage terms on aided schools. This meant that it was spending its money inefficiently and consequently reaching a smaller share of the population

Table 8: Composition of GIA schools and pupils in UP, Bengal, Bombay and Madras, 1910:[96]

Province	**Bengal**	**Bombay**	**Madras**	**UP**
GIA Schools	34,251	2,459	15,652	4,276
Total Schools	44,613	13,017	30,296	10,884
GIA Schools as %	77	24	52	39
GIA Pupils	1,139,367	136,810	639,094	170,964
Total Pupils	1,463,828	787,665	1,179,048	573,402
GIA Pupils as %	78	22	54	30

Table 9: Composition of GIA expenditure in UP, Bengal, Bombay and Madras, 1910:[97]

Province	**Bengal**	**Bombay**	**Madras**	**UP**
Total Expend.	10,973,348	12,400,111	11,939,280	9,339,223
GIA Expend.	8,936,762	3,210,719	5,340,791	2,825,793
GIA as %	81	44	45	30

Richard Griffiths, Director during the latter 1870s, termed such costs the 'unavoidable excesses of expenditure'[98] and that 'the situation is growing desperate and nothing but a plentiful supply of money for educational purposes of all kinds can mend it'.[99] These were clear admissions of the wretched financial state of north Indian education.

There was also a flip side to this financial coin. The UP administration was also informed by particular mid-Victorian ideology of laissez-faire governance, which mandated that any substantial educational undertakings should be done through private initiative. This brought them into a disagreement with Indians over the very role of the state in regard to education. The cadre of Boutflower, de la Fosse and Griffiths all believed that education was an investment which should be undertaken through Indian initiative, whereas Indians largely thought that it was an inalienable right to which they were entitled and which pre-British rulers had supported; a form of welfare which the state had largely failed to provide. One officer, Lawrence Stuart, continually peeved at receiving demands and appeals for more schools and materials, argued that 'parents should understand clearly that they cannot demand secondary education as a right, but can only claim that Government should bear a reasonable proportion of its cost'.[100] One British educational administrator actually begged local *zamindar*s and *taluqdar*s (large landowners) to contribute funds towards buildings and land.[101] A member of the Financial Department, E. M. Cook, asserted that they were being asked to provide services for which there were no funds

> it might also be pointed out that Government is now spending on secondary education the utmost it can afford and that if people want more schools to be opened ... there is only one way to do it, and that if they don't like taking the pill that is offered them they should cease to complain if Government refuses to overcrowd its schools with scholars ... Government should not attempt to do more than set a standard; that it cannot and should not attempt to provide a complete system of state secondary education, and that having established a sufficient number of schools to serve as models, it should encourage private enterprise to supply such further schools as may be required.[102]

But even this was not a complete panacea. District boards, which were given greater degrees of financial autonomy towards 1900, and which ran many of the primary and state-run institutions as suggested by officials such as Griffiths and Boutflower, were so strapped for cash that they could just barely afford to pay for basic repairs and upkeep.[103] One official's descriptions of the state of some schools left little to inspire. Basic school supplies such as desks, chalkboards and notepads were so inadequate and sparse that one education officer wryly commented: 'the present equipment hardly deserves the name'.[104] Textbooks were outdated and classroom equipment was dilapidated.

On the surface, there were many cases which demonstrated the degree to which the dynamics of Indian society had started to direct the course of educational developments. Officials were overtaken by large volumes of demand and a booming enrolment which showed no signs of abating. The Department had acute difficulties in dealing with this. Allahabad University had become so stretched to capacity that it actually had to seek assistance from the Bengal Government[105] in order to find university places for qualified students. This was an example of the degree to which demand could scarcely be contained. C de la Fosse observed that many schools were 'full to overflowing',[106] whilst his colleague (and later Lieutenant-Governor of UP) James Hewett admitted that 'at present ... we are failing ... to meet the demand for education at colleges by youths who have actually matriculated'.[107] There was a sense of urgency in this matter. Failing to act quickly would seriously tarnish the Government's image and could become a source of discontent. Private initiative was urgently needed. The Judicial Secretary to the UP Government, S. P. O'Donnell, argued that 'there is a constant outcry about boys being turned away from existing schools ... it would therefore be advantageous and politic to make considerable grants-in-aid without delay'.[108]

Yet the required funds to meet this strong Indian demand were neither forthcoming nor adequate. This suggested that the colonial education system exercised little in the way of 'dominance'. One grant from Imperial Revenues to the UP government, for example, ended up being only about one-third of what was requested: Rs. 1,519,000 out of Rs. 4,186,000.[109] The Jubilee high school in Lucknow, which the Department tried to raise as a model school, was unable to expand into new buildings at a time when the threat of overcrowding was serious. Despite the school's desperate pleas for funds, the Department was 'quite unable to find funds [as our] own budget is completely drained of savings'.[110] In 1910 it had to make a special appeal to the Government of India for funds to meet demand.[111] O'Donnell, again, stated that 'the object we would like to spend it on is grants to aided high schools to enable them to increase their accommodation. The demand for Anglo-Vernacular education has greatly increased lately, and the schools are hard put to find room for all those who present themselves'.[112] Even though the expansion of education was marked by the 1910s, the statistics of enrolled pupils and expenditure were façades for underlying financial instability and tenuousness. In 1910 the fee-generated revenues were so low that the question of raising fees in secondary Anglo-vernacular schools was brought up. It was believed that enrolment might have to be cut and students who were of adequate capability would have to be refused entry. But instead of implementing such a scheme, officials decided that were the Department to raise fees, there would be a general outcry. This was another example of how Indian social realities moulded the educational enterprise.

Externally, there were further limitations placed upon the Department which exacerbated the precarious financial situation of education. Pressure from the Government of India to further devolve educational authority to District Boards and Municipalities steadily increased between the 1870s and 1920. Calcutta bluntly ruled that in terms of educational solvency 'the most manifest transgressor is the Government of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh'.[113] The Department, in the middle of the financial crunch resulting from the 1909 planned transfer of secondary education, was pressured by the Indian Government to spend more on grants-in-aid and to furthermore devote all available funds for that very purpose.[114] The Secretary of State for India, John Morley, reported that 'aided schools which are fulfilling a real want, should be much more liberally treated'.[115] Morely cited the costs of taking over all the district high schools, at Rs. 400,138 p.a., as unfavourable compared to boosting GIA outlays to Rs. 200,000 annually.[116] But the funds were not forthcoming and many of these plans remained on paper.

Mission Schools and the Devolution of Educational Responsibilities: the Emergence of Market Education

Throughout, this chapter has argued that the state's concerns over religion and finance were vexing and could only be solved with the help of private initiative. In the larger context of the post-Mutiny Raj, nothing could have seemed, for the time at least, a better solution than to aid mission schools which could alleviate both these moral and financial predicaments. They would be able to not only take on a burden that was fiscally infeasible for the UP Government, but could also absolve the Department of their unpronounced responsibility for religion and moral instruction. These societies could also assist in meeting the overwhelming demand for education. Combined with the debate over the place of religion in the educational sphere and the reality of scarce funds, these all informed the emergence of 'market education'.

What was market education? How did it operate and what shaped it? Effectively, it was a form of subsidization which theoretically made government grants available to anyone willing to teach the government curriculum. Anglican mission societies, for their part, were the most numerous and willing to accept government aid under such conditions. Politically, the Department understood that they were solving one of their most persistent problems. The cadre of education officials were wholly cognizant of this. In a way, it was a way of salvaging the ambiguities and nuances of Wood's 1854 Educational Despatch. Their educational system was described as one which 'has always depended and probably always will depend very much upon private effort'.[117] Richard Griffiths stated already by the 1870s that 'aided instruction is on the whole fairly efficient and decidedly cheap, and it is to be hoped that in time it will to a great extent take the place of the more expensive Government education'.[118] Another official argued that 'the question of religious teaching finds its best if not its only solution in an extension of the system of grants-in-aid and the gradual withdrawal of Government from the direct management of schools and colleges'.[119] The Deputy Commissioner of Faizabad, J. W. Hose, observed that 'the cheapest ... method of starting a school as an experiment is to start it as an aided school ... if it fails, we have lost nothing permanent. If it succeeds, we have a school that costs less than a [district] board school'.[120] By the 1920s missionaries were so dominant it led one observer, Arthur Mayhew, to concede that their abandonment of schools was inconceivable even in the face of anti-colonial nationalism, for the whole system would collapse.[121]

The Educational Review of 1882, chaired by Sir William Hunter, reflected this movement towards a form of market education. It had already begun to take the question of aiding mission societies very seriously in UP. Testimony was given by numerous inspectors, teachers and district collectors. The responses to a tentative devolution of responsibility were, of course, mixed in degree, but not in essence. Missionaries, naturally, favoured more schools so that they could pursue their own agenda. Education officials wanted to withdraw state effort in areas where missionary bodies could fill a void. Dehra Dun, Pilibhit, Azamgarh, Ghazipur, Basti and Ballia were all cited as possibilities where Government could withdraw.[122] Missionaries were overzealous to involve themselves, suggesting that 'Government should withdraw in all cases [of education] where private Missionary effort is willing to step in'.[123] C. Robertson, the Secretary to the UP Government, agreed and spelt out the state's policy: 'to extend primary education as widely as possible, to encourage higher education among those who wish it, and who are prepared to sacrifice something for it, and to foster the aided system, under which in time the Government nay be able to withdraw from that direct interference which is at present so essential to the progress of education'.[124] But Robertson never had complete government withdrawal in mind. He wanted more direct government funding for primary education, leaving the field of secondary and higher instruction for aided enterprise. The Commission also recommended the further extension of aid to private efforts willing to undertake secondary and higher English education. Missionaries saw an opportunity, yet understood at the same time that their forays into primary education would be unwelcome by both Government and Indian parents.[125]

In terms of secondary and higher education, mission societies took greatest advantage of the constantly morphing system of market education. The Department, between 1880 and 1920 undertook a substantial devolution of power. Here, education was becoming a subsidized and infrastructurally-tenuous enterprise which very much depended upon private contributions and initiatives. It was not, it must be stressed, a complete monopoly of the state. By 1910 aided grants had become so marked that it was the single largest component of the Department's expenditure; more was being spent every year. In 1910, Rs. 894,966 was spent on aided schools, whilst Rs. 474,772 was spent on Governmental ones.[126] Richard Griffiths observed that it was 'not surprising, especially in a province where English thought and English actions have as yet affected the community so little, that the only persons who have responded to the appeals of the state have been the Missionaries'.[127]

Aided schools, which would be subsidized for the secular component of the education they would give, would be able, by the virtue of their private society status, to impart religious instruction without the taint of being associated with Government. They could be given aid for the secular instruction they imparted, so long as the Government did not explicitly support the religious component. Yet on the same token, mission schools had to prove to inspectors that government funds were not bankrolling Bible lessons. Religious neutrality, at least in theory, could therefore be maintained. In a very clever act of bureaucratic and legalistic manoeuvring, the UP Government was able to tackle two issues with one grant. One Department official, J. Reid, suggested that 'religious teaching may, indirectly and very properly, be encouraged by the recognition and aid of the secular Departments of denominational institutions by the State',[128] whilst another official argued that 'in aided schools, religious instruction might be freely given and should be encouraged'.[129] Harcourt Butler, the UP Government Secretary, reported that nearly all aided schools were missionary-run,[130] and he believed that 'the best, if not the only solution to the problem [of moral instruction] is to be found in the development of aided schools and colleges in which religious teaching may, without difficulty, be combined with secular instruction'.[131] Another official wanted to immediately give 'encouragement to aided schools and colleges in which religious instruction is prominently recognized'.[132] Sir Charles Elliot, speaking at the CMS anniversary ball, frankly admitted that in India 'the missionary societies have solved the problem for us ... [they] fill a want which the Government is unable to provide'.[133]

Anglican mission schools, run by the SPG, CMS and LMS, ended up as the primary beneficiaries of this market education. They dominated the rolls of aided schools at the secondary and higher levels. In 1880, twelve out of twenty-two high schools received Government grants. Thirty years later missionaries ran four high schools to every Government one.[134] After 1870 and in spite of post-Mutiny timidity over religion, the number of aided institutions increased one hundred fold, from 361[135] to an astonishing 4,276.[136] In terms of total outlays, funds to aided institutions increased from 25 percent[137] of all outlays in 1879 to nearly 60 percent thirty years later.[138]

Table 10: GIA and missionary schools in UP, 1912:[139]

School	Gov. Schools	Mission-run & Aided
Colleges	9	38
High Schools	59	248
Primary	6018	4350

Table 11: Recognized schools in India, 1910–11:[140]

	Gov.	Missions	Total
Arts Colleges	28	53	136
2nd Schools	740	1,785	3,285
Primary	24,715	5,194	112,930

Between 1860 and 1920, Anglican missionaries came to dominate the ranks of secondary and higher education in the United Provinces. Mission schools became so popular that *pathshala*s and *maktab*s, according to officials from the Department of Public Instruction, were close to extinct.[141] Grants to mission societies became increasingly common after the 1870s and ultimately became a cornerstone of UP educational policy as a means of salvaging its own financial woes. It was probably the only way to guarantee that education was expanded and that an attempt was made to bring the United Provinces closer to the standards of other provinces. The change was so marked that it led the UP Government Secretary to laud that 'in no other province, it would seem, has private liberality of recent years done so much for education'.[142]

Thus far the discussion has focused primarily on men's education. But female education was also part of the Department's logical matrix. Missions also led the way in female education. American-led societies, mainly the Methodist and Presbyterian Missions, devoted more of their efforts towards female and primary education, especially for low-caste children. They took advantage of the Government's call for more girls' schools. Officials admitted that they were the only ones who possessed the necessary patience.[143] What is more, the Department was timid in significantly funding girls' schools as a possible affront to 'traditional' sensibilities in the Gangetic plain. Missionaries led the way in this respect. By 1879 they were running 78 out of the 122 aided lowers schools for girls in the Provinces.[144] Only nine schools were under indirect Government management via local District Boards.[145] As early as 1880 the Department began to utilize the value of engaging missionary societies to impart instruction to women and girls. Sir Harcourt Butler argued that they must rely on aided schools for any real extension of female education, mainly on financial grounds.[146] With Charles Robertson, they both remarked that 'this branch of education may be left to be dealt with by the mission agencies ... it is obvious that a State scheme of education for girls – even the most elementary kind – would be apt to fail unless a suitable intermediary agency between the Government and the classes interested could be found'.[147] Henry Reid observed similarly, that 'almost the only really, prosperous native girls schools are those in large stations superintended by the ladies of several missionary societies'.[148]

Most female educational efforts, importantly, were directed towards *Zenana* (secluded section of a house for women) education, which witnessed substantial growth during the latter nineteenth century. Missionaries were running schools which the Department claimed it could not afford to. William Boutflower remarked that 'it is of course well known that in addition to teaching girls in school missionary societies carry on a great deal of education in Zenanas',[149] noting that 'we have no agency at present with which to work except the missionary societies'.[150] This demonstrated how dependent the Department was upon both missionaries and market education. Thomas Holderness observed that the Department ought, as a fiscal and moral imperative, to 'deal liberally with any school which makes an honest effort to impart ... female education', since mission societies had themselves lavished large sums of money on educational institutions.[151] There was, initially, a degree of weariness in allowing missionaries to enter the homes of 'respectable' and 'traditional' Indian families. But this eventually gave way, realizing that it was thrifty for the Government to answer Indian calls for the state to provide women's education, particularly amongst Indian social reforming groups.[152] Butler, again, believed that the Department 'should be firm as to this'.[153] By 1908 it was more than clear that this was the policy for the UP Government to take: 'it should be left for private enterprise to start them, but they should be liberally aided with both buildings and maintenance grants'.[154] And this was reflected in the number of girls under instruction. In districts over 50,000 people, by 1910 there were 4,177 girls in aided schools compared to 1,162 in those run by Government.[155] Here, missionary societies were fulfilling a demand about which Government was both timid and poorly-funded.

At the same time, Government was also aware of the need to establish more boarding houses for an ever expanding student population. With secondary and higher education increasing significantly, students naturally sought out lodgings in the urban centres of Banaras, Kanpur and Allahabad. The GOI observed that the demand for hostels was more acutely felt in UP than in any other province.[156] Again, this was another example of how the British had to come to terms with the social realities of educational demand – this was something over which they had little control. Before the 1905 *swadeshi* (own-country) agitations, the UP government sought out private assistance in meeting the demand for student accommodation. One Departmental official observed that 'the State already bears a disproportionate share of the expenditure on higher education, and the obligation of providing boarding houses where they do not exist is one which local Governments and Administration are naturally loathe to accept. It is an appropriate object for private liberality which should be encouraged.'[157] Claude de la Fosse, speaking at Allahabad University, claimed that the influence of the schoolmaster and professor 'must not be limited to the classrooms', if education was to have a genuine effect.[158] Yet he was clear in no uncertain terms when he stated that the expansion of the residential system had to be provided 'by private liberality, and not from state funds'.[159]

There was undoubtedly a cynical functioning of *realpolitik* behind all of this. Hostels were seen as necessary to counter what many saw as unruly habits and 'seditious' student tendencies. Here, there was a political agenda to colonial education, but it was reactive and in salvage operation mode, rather than proactive and dominating. Officials believed that student activism and political thinking required constant supervision, and that hostels would do much to keep tabs on students.[160] This was coloured by a political need to monitor students and locate 'sedition' and 'subversion'. This also merged with constant complaints that students away from home developed a laxity in morals due to their secular and agnostic education in the English system. Departmental officials interpreted this as student immorality. This 'moral vacuum' could therefore be filled by student residences, be they either mission or Government-run. The Viceroy, Lord Curzon, most acutely embodied this policy when he claimed that the main purpose of the hostel was to 'keep young Indian students straight'.[161]

The legalistic and administrative nuances of the missionary-Department relationship were significant and instructive. They were suggestive of how the British, even though they needed missionary efforts in the educational sphere, nevertheless attempted to keep them under their thumb. The Department constructed legislation to purposefully induce and stimulate private initiative. This was to further relieve an already strained budget. But mission schools and other aided institutions could not, instructively, legally charge fees in excess of 75% of those charged at comparable Government schools. This was a mechanism devised to attract students to such schools and to lure private societies into starting and managing schools. Yet it also had the effect of under-funding many mission schools. William Bennett, Secretary to the UP Government, wrote that 'it should be the aim of [the] Department to make secondary education more and more independent of government assistance, and to concentrate its efforts on the advancement of primary education'.[162] His colleague, T. C. Lewis, argued that English education in the provinces was relatively cheap for private societies to administer. This should serve as an incentive to private societies and incentives to establish, run and administer English and Anglo-vernacular schools.[163] He argued that Government should adopt a policy of 'offering special advantages and therefore a special stimulus to private enterprise'.[164]

Another idea entertained was to induce these institutions to conform to the curriculum of state-run schools with the luring reward of government grants. This would streamline the curriculum and facilitate administrative and managerial devolution. One official reasoned that 'the more nearly the status of Government is assimilated to that of aided institutions, the easier it will be hereafter to transfer them to local bodies on the grant-in-aid system'.[165] He clearly had both the long-term future in mind and the administration's coffers. Another official stated 'that in all ordinary cases, secondary schools for English be preferably on the grant-in-aid footing',[166] so long as Government controlled the curriculum and set standards for efficiency.

In light of this free-market and laissez-faire approach to education, the Department ensured that this arrangement was not liable to abuse by overzealous mission teachers. Legislation was constructed to ensure that the ultimate strings were pulled by the Raj. Again, this pointed to the inconsistency and tenuousness of the whole arrangement. The UP Government Secretary may have remarked that 'the less the Department interferes with the details of aided management, the better',[167] but this did not preclude Government from having the final say on many educational matters. There were conditions attached to receiving public funds. To obtain a full grant the school had to convincingly demonstrate that it was serving a secular purpose first and foremost; religious instruction was a secondary consideration. It also had to adhere to Department standards regarding teaching quality and coursework which were assessed by a bloated, sprawling educational bureaucracy.[168] This engendered, as we have seen, a massive and sprawling inspection staff. Some of these Indian inspectors often ended up assessing the very institutions from which they graduated.

Ultimate government control was further witnessed when one considers the intricacies of policy-making and curriculum-formation. On the surface, these mission societies were actively recruited to provide a service which the Department could not. But upon closer inspection, missionaries had limited influence on general educational committees, university syndicates and policy-forming bodies. Missionary services, it must be stressed, were solicited strictly on Government terms. One instance was the Examinations Committee for the University of Allahabad. Missionaries did have posts on the Boards of Studies but their numbers were sparse. Out of the fifteen subsections, ranging from English Literature to Sanskrit to Physics to Drawing & Surveying, missionaries accounted for only 12 out of 90 of the reviewers.[169] They were found on a few committees such as History & Geography, Modern European Languages, Teaching, Indian vernaculars (save Arabic, Persian or Sanskrit), Physics, Mathematics and Drawing & Surveying.[170]

These missionary educationists also lacked genuine influence on the Allahabad University Syndicate. This was the body that formulated the very courses which Indians would study at the higher level. Sir Henry Cotton's assertion that university bodies were 'filled with missionaries'[171] was not only likely referring to Madras and Bombay Universities, but was largely exaggerating their importance. Upon closer inspection, their numbers were minuscule at Allahabad University. Missionaries themselves were aware of the Syndicate's influence, and recognized that they in fact had little input. Henry Durrant of the CMS claimed that it is 'of utmost importance that the Society's aim and object in maintaining missionary educational institutions, that we should have representations on the Syndicate'.[172] Yet even before the passing of the University Act (1904), which made it more difficult for missionaries to become members of the Syndicate, only five out of the sixty nominations for Allahabad University were for missionaries.[173] The Department purposefully kept missionary numbers and influence to a minimum. George Westcott of the SPG was resigned to observe that missionary interests 'have so far not been represented on this body by a missionary',[174] whilst the Principal of St John's College, Agra (academically one of the best and most popular colleges in UP) Rev. G. Partiger, petitioned the UP Government complaining that missionary interests had been excluded from its management altogether.[175] Lord Curzon's punishing educational reforms of 1904 comprehensively marginalized missionaries; Rev. Arthur Crosthwaite of the CMS was the only missionary elected to the Syndicate between 1904 and 1920.[176]

Missionary influence was also limited on the Provincial Textbook Committee (PTC). This was another example of how missionaries were employed by the Department on the Raj's terms alone. The PTC decided the textbooks and reader guides to be used in primary and secondary schools, which also had the spillover effects of issuing contracts for publishers. This Committee, for instance, had to address the issues of moral and religious instruction in UP schools. And with such great number of mission colleges and high schools in the provinces, it was only natural and expected that missionary educationists would be represented. But this was limited: they were given only five out of forty seats.[177] On the meeting for 14 November 1907, there were only two present: Rev. Andrew Ewing, of the Allahabad Christian College (an American-run school), and William John, of the American Presbyterian Mission.[178] They were overwhelmingly outnumbered by Hindus and Muslims. Their recommendations and attempts to have their texts approved failed. Some of the rejected titles included 'Child's Bible Narrative' Vols I–III, 'Old Christmas', by William Irving, 'Geometry & How to Apply It', by Rev. T. Varley, 'Course of Study in Physiology & Hygiene', by the Christian Temperance Union of India, and 'A Grammar of Modern Hindi', by Edwin Greaves of the LMS.[179] In fact the only missionary book approved was 'Indian Readers 4 & 5', by the Christian Literature Society (CLS) for India, which was only recommended as an alternative for mission schools who received Government grants.[180] And the CLS, moreover, was less involved in secondary and higher education than the larger CMS, SPG and LMS societies. These texts, plus two others, were the only ones put up for consideration compared to nearly two-hundred others.[181]

Government–Missionary Tension: Temporal versus Other-worldly Authority?

This chapter has thus far set the Indian social and religious contexts which shaped the relationship between missionaries and the Department of Public Instruction. Yet there was by no means a synchronization between the aims of the Raj and missionaries. The antagonisms between worldly (empire) and other-worldly (missionary) realms have been recently addressed by historians. Jeffrey Cox has argued that missionaries in the Punjab, for instance, were often less concerned with the longevity of the empire and more concerned with building up networks of faith and community which would outlive the Raj.[182] Andrew Porter has recently shed light upon the points of tension and different priorities between missionary and imperial interests.[183] Anglican mission schools may have been at the forefront in relieving the Department from its own moral and financial woes. On the surface, it may have seemed that missionaries ran hand-in-hand with imperial prerogatives. Yet this is simplistic. These teachers did not always share the Raj's aims. In the end, it was more a relationship of convenience rather than of sympathy. This is important to emphasize. Missionary educationists and the Indian Government, notwithstanding their rather convenient arrangement, disagreed on many issues and points of tension did surface.

This section will build upon these arguments by taking post-1860s UP as an example within the wider ambit of educational policy. After 1870 the evangelically-enthusiastic and mission-favourable administrations of James Thomason and Robert M. Bird had passed,[184] and the subsequent Governor-Generals such as Auckland Colvin, James la Touche and James Meston all upheld the irreligiousness of the Raj as (ironically) a religious creed in itself, at least in the educational arena.[185] From the 1870s onwards, UP officials were less sympathetic with ostentatious missionary activity, and feared that any evangelical activity, no matter how secular or nominal, would possibly upset Indian religious sentiment in the heartland of the Mutiny. This manifested itself in the gulf between missionaries and British officials and administrators. Sir Roper Lethbridge, who taught at Hooghly and Presidency Colleges, was a prime example. He was adamant in his insistence that higher education could never be given over to missions in totality. Lethbridge argued that 'it is neither honourable nor politic for the Government to adopt any measure that must tend to throw the highest education of India into the hands of a propaganda'.[186] William Crooke, intensely familiar with the administration of north India, termed mission activity in UP a 'curiously powerful monotheistic propaganda',[187] whilst Robert Needham Cust captured the hidden incompatibility between worldly and other-worldly empires, arguing that converting Indians 'may be right and just [but] it may lose the Empire of India'.[188]

This gulf was reflected in many educational issues and debates. One example was the level of fees mission schools could charge. This was, in turn, a debate over authority and the necessary reach of the *sarkar* (government). It was also a debate over how far British colonial authority should extend. A debate surfaced over the rates at which aided schools could levy fees during the 1880s, and later came to a boil after 1900. Government enforced lower tuition rates at aided schools to stimulate private enterprise. Mission schools, conversely, were constantly attempting to charge higher fees in order to put their schools on a sounder financial footing. As noted, aided institutions were by law not allowed to charge fees which were more than 75% of the equivalent at a comparable Government-run institution. Yet at such rates, mission schools were becoming prey to financial penury. Mission teachers demanded that they should be given more flexibility in order to give their institutions some degree of financial security. The Department surveyed the opinions of missionaries involved in education, and it found that most of them wished to be given the right to charge higher fees. This, teachers argued, would allow the schools to achieve fiscal solvency and improve their overall performance.[189] Schools were very keen to preserve the autonomy they had hitherto exercised and wanted the Department to grant them more financial flexibility. But by 1910, after years of debate, the Department upheld the 75% law, arguing that the benefits to private enterprise were greater than the benefits to be accrued to aided proselytizing schools.[190]

Further examples of this gulf could be seen during the proceedings of the 1882 Education Commission. It made one particular recommendation, No. 25, Chapter VII, which suggested religious instruction be optional in an area where a mission school was the only one which could supply the educational needs of a community.[191] This was part of a larger debate which witnessed the passing of 'conscious clauses' during the 1930s in various parts of British India.[192] Missionary educationists in north India, representing schools in the urban centres of Agra, Banaras, Faizabad, Allahabad and Lucknow, sent a petition to the Indian Government denouncing even the contemplation of such a plan. The memorial argued that this would breach the 1854 Educational Despatch,[193] which stipulated that Government would not interfere with religion in educational matters. They cited the case of St John's College, Agra. Here, the city's residents petitioned the UP Government not to withdraw the College's grant even though there was a secular Government school in the same city – Agra College.[194] This, in a way, demonstrated the popularity of the mission school. Yet the recommendation was never implemented, as the Government could find few instances of genuine antagonism towards mission schools solely because they gave religious instruction. The tension between missionaries and the Government at this conference was palpable, especially when some officials suggested that higher education be handed over to Indians instead of missionaries.[195]

One case in particular characterized the dynamics of this relationship. This was seen, again, in the issue over the Government grant to St John's College. The resolution of this issue demonstrated that the educational authorities were more concerned with worldly matters and in particular matters of finance. The Director of Public Instruction, Richard Griffiths, had deemed demand for instruction at St John's overly-inflated in proportion to its actual need. He argued that Agra College, in terms of secular education, already provided for the city's needs and that 'undue favour cannot with justice be shown to [St John's], simply because it is kept up by the Church Missionary Society'.[196] But it emerged that the costs of Agra College to the UP Government were burdensome, and that it would be fiscally reckless to promote it at the expense of the CMS institution. Between 1879 and 1881, for example, the annual cost of educating a single student sky-rocketed from Rs. 228 to Rs. 485, made worse by an overall decline in enrolment.[197] This demonstrated the elasticity of educational demand. One of Griffths' colleagues, Andrew Mackenzie, uncovered that the costs of maintaining five state-colleges in UP cost the Government Rs. 101,808, compared with subsidizing over nine mission colleges for Rs. 21,848.[198] This was particularly true in Agra, where the annual costs to the UP Government for Agra and St John's Colleges were Rs. 15,500 and Rs. 3,600, respectively.[199] The Department insisted that, notwithstanding the cost savings, it would be politically suspect to close Agra College and ostentatiously support a mission-run institution. But more importantly it would also forfeit the Government of an annual yield of Rs. 25,000 on its endowment.[200] Political issues aside, Griffiths ended up transferring the institution to a local body, which ran it as an aided college. Government kept the substantial (and much-needed) yield from the annual endowment and was concurrently able to minimize these over-inflated costs.[201]

Government could often be more ostentatiously hostile towards mission activities. Not only was this reflective of a firm desire to keep as much control over the larger system as possible, but it was also emblematic of the overly-sensitive approach with the Department took towards religious affairs. Griffiths, Boutflower and Holderness often made decisions without even gauging Indian opinion on mission activities. And missionaries were always quick to point out what they called officialdom's over-sensitivity. The UP Government in 1878, for example, asked the LMS to cease administering Scripture Scholarships which offered cash prizes and paid fees to students who memorized Bible passages. Yet the LMS refused to comply with this order. This prompted one missionary to liken stout British officials and administrators to cattle, comically noting that the Bible 'affects a good many government officials as a red flag does a bull'.[202] Another official, Colonel Macdonald, raised the question as to whether missionary education should be held in check by the Government, as it had the possibility to act more as a religious rather than an educational agency. He was convinced that Indians would resent nearly any mission activity and their schools would decline in popularity. But his assessments were unfounded, as no evidence was garnered to make his case. This led one missionary to retort that

> it was hardly necessary for Colonel Macdonald to raise the old question of missionary education as a proselytising agency, or to take up the position that Government is not bound to leave the Natives at the mercy of the Missionaries, when no complaints were before him, and when all the evidence went to show the popularity of Mission schools ... and I add their very small success as proselytising agents.[203]

This mission teacher demonstrated that Indians were enthusiastic about his school and even patronized it with funds.[204] Rev. K. C. Chatterjee, a Bengali convert who worked extensively upcountry with the CMS, pointed out that many of his schools in Hashiapur were objected to by English officials.[205] Even though local residents welcomed their presence and educational activities,[206] officials were perpetually fearful of possibly upsetting religious sensibilities and continually warned both mission teachers and Chatterjee to know their limits.[207] This again demonstrated just how hyper-sensitive and anxious the British were about the aided and very indispensable educational arrangement which they built up.

Missionary educationists and officials clashed over numerous other issues. The Inspector-General of Education in the Central Provinces, A. Monroe, observed that at the Allahabad University Senate missionaries were in sharp disagreement with officialdom, and sneeringly observed of the few missionaries on the Allahabad Syndicate that 'not a few are traditionally disposed to be hostile to any constituted authority, especially if it takes the form of government'.[208] Monroe and others were cognizant of 'Christian anarchist' movements and feared a spread of such ideals into the mission field. There was also tension between educational officials and the Syndicate, regarding the modes in which English would be taught.[209] In Almora, one mission school, being the only high school in the area, gave Bible instruction and prompted locals to complain to the Government about proselytizing. The Department asked the school to stop, and when they refused, Government snubbed the mission and built its own high school within months and drew away a significant number of students.[210] When it came to 'traditional' Indian feelings towards caste, for example, Government usually sided against missionaries. One mission school admitted 'unclean' castes into their schools and its Brahmin students complained to Government that missionaries were unsettling caste-order (*varna vyavastha*). The Government ultimately decided to defend 'tradition' and cowed to Indian sentiment. It sided with the protesters and supported a newfound school just down the road dominated by Brahmans; the CMS schools lost half of its students in the process.[211] Lastly and perhaps poignantly, Lord Salisbury spoke at the SPG hall in 1900. Whilst lauding missionaries for their humanitarian and educational work, he nevertheless beseeched missionaries to stay out of Indian politics and to avoid discussing such matters with their students. It then prompted one teacher to sarcastically retort that 'perhaps it is only to be expected when he took it upon himself to give the novel counsel to missionaries not to interfere in politics'.[212]

Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to set the context in which missionary education emerged as an enterprise by the latter half of the nineteenth century. From a deeper analysis of education's social contexts, we can see that the system in north India was already greatly fractured, underfunded and compromised by internal and external pressures. The Department was particularly anxious and headache-prone over the question of religious education. This was, indeed, guided by the ideological legacy of the Mutiny and the shock and subsequent reversion towards conservatism. But it was never absolute. The economic penury of education was equally important and guiding in Departmental decision-making. These acute and moulding realities, rather than a clandestine arrangement between empire and evangelism, largely allowed missionary education to emerge as a distinct and aided enterprise. The context in which missionary education emerged was crucial, for the very structural realities which founded and sustained the enterprise would ultimately have a bearing upon the efficacy of knowledge's impact upon Indian society, her religious traditions and debates over Indian patriotism. The following chapter will set the cultural and ideological context of mission education further by examining these teachers' backgrounds and representations of India which were, in the end, ultimately bound up with the impact of western secular and religious knowledge in the north Indian landscape.

3 BETWEEN EAST AND WEST: ORIENTALISM, REPRESENTATIONS OF AND ENGAGEMENTS WITH INDIA

As the previous chapter demonstrated, the UP Department of Public Instruction had to work with particular Indian social, religious and demographic realities when it came to education. Some of these were of their own making, whilst the rest were solid realities which neither the British nor missionaries could change. In turn Anglican missionary educationists from the SPG, LMS and CMS, who took greatest advantage of the system of market education, also had to work with the grain of Indian society – in particular the parameters of Hinduism and Indian religions. This was indispensable for their *modus operandi* of their entire educationist enterprise. One main aim of this chapter is to outline how these schoolteachers and missionary scholars engaged with Hinduism, Indian cultural moralities, and how this was further related to the enterprise of education. It will define missionary education's aims and functioning in the classroom as part of the colonial encounter. Our historical literature has still, to a degree, tended to view mission education as either synonymous with that of Government or chiefly concerned merely with winning converts. It has also seen missionary engagements with Hinduism and Indian Islam as largely disparaging or condescending. Yet these are both simplistic. This section seeks to examine the actual process of pedagogy, something which has largely been overlooked by scholars of both missions and India. The means by which missionary educationists engaged with India's religious landscape were instructive and significant. These headmasters and teachers saw Hinduism and India not so much as a complete 'other' but more through a condescending Darwinian trajectory which never irrevocably consigned India to difference. One by-product of this arrangement was that their engagements were more constructive and accommodating than more disparaging missionary figures such as Alexander Duff[1] and William Ward[2] would suggest. This movement towards more constructive engagements with Indian religions ultimately started to resemble, however slightly, the writings and compendiums of Indo-Muslim scholars such as Dara Shukoh and Abul Fazl. Yet what was different now was that Anglican missionaries were more numerous, elaborate and engaging than their Mughal predecessors. They also did more to penetrate the Gangetic hinterland and its religious landscape. This was one such colonial encounter which was not so much defined by dominance and disparagement, but by interaction and constructive engagement. In doing so, this chapter strongly suggests that the cadre of populist missionaries such as Duff and Ward, for example, were never fully representative of missionary activity in India.

Social backgrounds and domestic parallels: Britain and the wider world

The social backgrounds of these missionaries are important in giving the educational enterprise both a solid South Asian and wider imperial context. From them we can establish links between the domestic backgrounds of these educationists and their eventual mission work in India. The missionaries who worked in both the foreign and domestic fields shared similar social networks, educational experiences and intellectual outlooks.

Missionary educationists in north India were primarily the new, upper-middle classes who styled themselves as respectable professionals in the fields of medicine, mission work and finance, attending both the older (Eton, Rugby, Harrow, Charterhouse) and more recently-founded (Wellington, Cheltenham) English public schools.[3] Nearly all of them had some experiences in either Oxford or Cambridge. Yet most missionary educationists usually attended the latter of these groups and the less-prestigious older schools such as Charterhouse and Dulwich. This was significant, for they were less exposed to and inundated by (as we shall see) the ethoses of 'manliness' as witnessed on the playing fields of Rugby and Eton.

These shared university experiences reflected itself in the mission fields, both domestic and foreign. Most of those working for the Cambridge Mission to South London, later in Liverpool and abroad in India, for instance, attended schools such as Charterhouse, Epsom and Wellington. Most of these educationists also shared a similar Oxbridge university-training. Charlie Andrews, William Holland, John Haythornwaite and others had, on the whole, attended either Oxford or Cambridge (though more frequently the latter). Cecil Tyndale-Biscoe, one of the most famous CMS educationists and who worked tirelessly in Kashmir (he managed to establish around nine different schools), had attended Bradfield College and later Cambridge.[4] Those attached to St Stephen's College, Delhi, were part of the Cambridge Mission to Delhi, and hence had common, shared experiences in the Fenlands (save Colin Sharp and W. G. Lawrence,[5] who attended Oxford). It was no coincidence that the most prominent mission youth hostel in UP was called, unsurprisingly, the Oxford and Cambridge Hostel (Allahabad).[6]

The social antecedents and dynamics at work in the larger missionary education realm were witnessed not only abroad but also at home. These provided links between the foreign and domestic mission field. The expansion of education as a missionary tool, it must be stressed, was not unique to India. It ran parallel with a vast expansion within the wider empire and, significantly, missionary activity in Britain itself. Most of these missionaries, from one perspective, operated and perceived their work in Britain as not terribly different from labours in the subcontinent. There was a substantial proliferation of domestic missions in Britain during the latter nineteenth century, most of which were aimed at the working classes, who, it was argued, were as 'un-Christian' as the pundits and sannayasis their *confrères* encountered in India.[7] This was significant, for most of these missionary educationists would have been well aware of domestic mission work before they sailed for India through their social and educational networks. To what degree this influenced their Indian experiences is difficult to ascertain. Yet it is certain that it did bear upon their Indian work nonetheless, and that there were marked similarities. Many of these missionaries shared similar social contacts, circles and experiences, and they were aware of the mission field in Britain itself. Charlie Andrews, as an example, took keen interest and participated in the Cambridge Mission to South London (CMSL) before he left for the foreign field.[8]

Education as an Opportunity, Affordable and Distinct

Missionaries with these shared experiences were cognizant of the domestic mission field which placed education as central in means of 'improvement'. Yet there were significant and guiding differences. Back in India, Anglican missionary educationists recognized from early on that they were taking advantage of a Government handicap. And in contrast to their work back home, Indian education was most availed of by communities with pre-existing traditions of learning, such as Brahmans and Kayasthas. Moreover, the educational enterprise (and the larger colonial educational system) was, on the whole, top-heavy in the arts with little focus on the vocational sciences. This was quantitatively different from the domestic field's focus on vocational pedagogy.

In India, this cadre of missionary educationists were quick to realize the opportunity government penury afforded. They also were aware that, in this respect, missionaries possessed am influential bargaining chip. General 'moral' education, more or less absent in Government schools, was one area where missions could provide an additional service. One CMS educationist observed with satisfaction that 'the Ed. Dept. feels the necessity of some moral training, but they do not know how to accomplish it. This instrument we missionaries possess, and it is well we are in a measure organized to meet its need,'[9] whilst George

Westcott claimed similarly: 'mission schools can do a work which Government schools cannot'.[10] The *Church Times*, of the Cambridge Mission to Delhi, stated that 'it is for other reasons that those engaged in missions work in India regard education as so important a branch of their work...mission schools can do a valuable service is recognized alike by parents and Government officials'.[11]

One reason why education became the main *forte* of societies such as the CMS, LMS and SPG was, simply, because it was relatively inexpensive. Compared to the costs of paying preachers to reside and travel around the Gangetic hinterland and numerous outstations and medical dispensaries – and its concomitant bureaucracy – the costs of teachers' salaries and coursework were markedly cheaper. The mission accounts for the Aligarh District, an overstretched sight of activity for the CMS, offer good insight. Here, the pay of a catechist amounted to Rs. 2,199 p.a. whilst for the same price they could run schools in nine locations: Aligarh, Delhi, Dhanpur, Bulandeshahr, Sikanderabad, Chunar and Soron.[12] This effectively gained a wider audience and could reach more people. His colleague, William Hall, even went so far as to call preaching a 'waste of money'.[13]

Missionary education was also characterized as part of a natural division of labour. The whole enterprise had to work with the grain of particular Indian social realities. As mentioned, most mission school students came from communities with pre-existing traditions of learning. Rev. John Haythornwaite understood that mission schools could never take on the aggressive and disparaging rhetoric used in working with lower-caste communities – the upper segments of Indian society needed to be addressed in a way which was 'respectable':

> some object to men and money being spent on high class schools and colleges, where a large part of the time of course is devoted to secular subjects; but any one of us can see that if a Hindu came to England and wanted to influence the youth of the upper ranks of society, the way would not be to preach in the streets, but to open, if he could, a school like Eton or Rugby.[14]

Education was also distinct for simpler, pragmatic reasons. Zealous preachers would deplete schools' efficiency and legitimacy. To have an ardent, confrontational and aggressive evangelist running a school – which had to abide by very secular Departmental standards – was inimical to the institution. A decline in standards and examinations success would moreover dissuade the very students missionaries wished to influence from attending. Rev. William Hall of the CMS wryly observed that 'to place an Evangelistic missionary in charge of a college is to court failure, and the disapproval of the Educational authorities'.[15] Mission schools required individuals who had to deal with a strikingly large amount of secular work. If a preacher could not maintain required standards of educational efficiency, then schools would lose their Government grants and the legitimacy required from Indian society. This was another example of how mission schools were influenced not only by their connection with government, but also by Indian social realities.

Religion and Spirituality in the Mission School: Suasion and Theism

These Indian mission schools, compared to their counterparts back home, operated differently. They aimed to engage with their students at a deep and spiritual level, rather than either presenting their own religious creed by diktat or checking 'radical' tendencies by improving their material lot (as with domestic mission work in Britain). Such a system would, in theory, make their institutions centres of vibrant inter-religious discussion. Rather than just serve as affordable alternatives which, by virtue of the syllabus, mimicked the pedagogy of Government institutions, mission schools served as centres of spiritual inquiry. Religion was voluntary and students were encouraged to question the religious; they were to conclude for themselves whether or not they should convert. In the process, these schools became increasingly familiar with Indian society at cultural, social and religious levels. Missionaries may have set the terms of religious exchange, but students were willing participants and undertook their own religious inquiries, and drew their own conclusions. This needs to be emphasized. They simply were not passive bystanders in polemics against their identity.

Missionary desires to make their schools centres of spiritual and religious discussion were informed, however loosely, by a heuristic conception of Fulfilment theory. As mentioned, this was a multi-tiered Darwinian wedding cake which put Protestant Christianity at the top above Islam, Hinduism and the world's faiths and religious traditions. The expatriates who ran these schools were not simply disparaging, degrading missionaries. They were, from another perspective, constructive and engaging theologians. Teachers hoped that interaction between students and teachers would generate religious inquiry and curiosity. This was the main *modus operandi* of the mission school. By stimulating the higher faculties of the mind to ponder upon the spiritual, students could interpret their own creed in relation to Christianity and the world's religions. Yet in doing so, a degree of religious tolerance was, inevitably, a precondition of the educational enterprise. In the end, this was very much related to the heuristic template of Fulfilment:

> the essential basis of the scheme is to form a centre where Christianity would be brought face-to-face with non-Christian systems, not in the way of antagonism, but the later studied with a view to discovering the best in them, and finding out what they contain which leads towards Christ and find their completion and consummation in Christianity. This is a splendid thing. I get to realise ever more and more that God has been revealing His Truth, in measure, in many ages, in many ways, in many lands. Everything [should] be done not to try and prove all non-Christian systems as absolute falsehoods, but groupings and aspirations after the truth of God.[16]

One SPG writer admitted that his work 'need not be destructive work – it is rather constructive'.[17] Charlie Andrews wrote that 'we shall find a true *praeparatio evangelica* in the Vedas and the Upanishads ... as well as in the traditions of Muhammed, the utterances of the Sufi mystics, the sayings of Kabir, and the verses of the Granth'.[18] This agenda may have been Christocentric and condescending, but it was never absolute. More importantly, it relied upon Indian religious knowledge systems and traditions to demonstrate that Fulfilment was indeed a means to an end. These missionaries and their schools were guided by their own form of constructive Orientalism.[19] Knowledge, even if the tone and context of inquiry was set by missionaries, was in theory shared and comparatively studied, rather than dictated or imparted by European agency alone.

This scenario set up the possibility that missionaries would become deeply and intensely involved in Indian religions, society and culture. And in this respect they were. Missionaries' deeper understanding of and engagements with India's religions were so significant that they were recognized by Government educational officials and administrators such as Roper Lethbridge[20] and Denzel Ibbetson.[21] Lewis Sydney O'Malley, an ICS officer who published a voluminous reflection upon change and cultural interactions in latter nineteenth-century India,[22] also took note of missionaries' 'unusual' tendencies to engage with Hindu and Islamic religious beliefs.[23] E. M. Forster was not just creating Orientalist fiction when he wrote about the missionaries Mr. Grayford and Mr. Sorley, who lived beyond the slaughterhouse, never entered the Anglo-Indian club of Chandrapur, and always travelled third class rail.[24] He adequately captured the degree to which missionaries engaged with Indian society – and to which British officialdom, by comparison, had removed itself.

This constructive engagement was, in theory and in practice, the template for the north Indian educational landscape. Yet they were never as spiritual and religious as they aimed to be. Teachers and headmasters, in fact, spent most of their time dispelling rumours and misconceptions of Christianity, rather than actively and positively engaging their students in religious discourse and Biblical pedagogy. Charles Sharpe of the Cambridge Mission to Delhi admitted that this was necessary to contrast the oft-questionable behaviour of colonial officers, the infamous intrigue of Simla, and philandering British soldiers with a true example of their religion – this would counter stereotypes held by Muslims and Hindus.[25] Edward Oakley of Ramsay College (Almora), Andrew Baumann of the CMS[26] and the principal of the LMS College in Banaras[27] all confided that they had more success in dispelling the rumours and misunderstandings of Christianity rather than in converting students and even discussing its basic tenets.[28] One teacher in *The Pioneer* wrote that although he did not want to degrade Hinduism and Islam, he admitted that 'my present intention is not to champion the cause of Christianity', since he spent more time convincing his students that not all Christians consumed swine and drank alcohol.[29]

These were examples of the limited religiosity of mission schools and how Indian socio-religious factors shaped the educational landscape. Yet teachers did attempt to overcome these obstacles by promoting discourse amongst their students and by hosting seminars, visiting lecturers and public talks. One main purpose behind the founding of St John's College, Agra, for example, was to serve as a school for the stimulation of constructive religious discourse.[30] Rev. J. Jones, saw such discussion as right in line with Fulfilment Theory, to which he attached a mystical, sublime and divine inspiration.[31] The CMS, even though it had a relatively small educational presence in Aligarh, nevertheless sent educated missionaries to converse with students at the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College about religion, spirituality and the nature of God – especially on *tahwid*, or the oneness of God.[32]

Indian students, scholars and holy men, for their parts, participated in these discourses and engaged in debate. They simply were not passive victims of a Christocentric trajectory. Teachers and headmasters engaged their students on the topics of God, faith and spirituality. Rev. R. J. Bell of the CMS, a long-time worker in UP, asked one of his students if there was a missionary in Jabalpur. His pupil tellingly replied: 'yes, sir; and he is my best friend. I had him living in my house for some weeks, and we had many conversations on religious subjects'.[33] Robert Kennedy, of St Andrew's College in Gorakhpur, recalled one particular religious seminar held at the school. It was effectively a no-holds-barred question and answer session, where 'the chief differences between Christianity, Islam and Hinduism [were] lashed out'.[34] Kennedy entertained questions, whilst asking many himself, constantly pressing his students to contemplate on the nature of God from a theistic understanding. He marvelled at this speculation and saw this as one of the most exciting and energizing parts of his work. St John's College regularly had moulvies (Muslim clerics) and even officials come all the way from Haileybury College in England to speak on comparative religion.[35] Evelyn Luce, writing on her work in *Zenana*s, surprisingly found Muslim women very willing and ready to talk about Hinduism, Islam, and Christianity in comparative terms.[36] One St Stephen's student, Sri Ram, himself a brilliant Urdu scholar, relished his religious debates and conversations and went on to engage in religious debate and discussions with the chaste Urdu-speaking Delhi *ulama*.[37] These were all examples of a strong undercurrent of vibrant, comparative religious debate and interaction during a reactionary and increasingly hidebound post-Mutiny period.

Since mission schools were to serve as centres of spirituality and inter-faith discourse, a substantial amount of knowledge of India's religious traditions was necessary. This ensured that teachers inevitably engaged with India's religious knowledge systems and traditions. Missionary educationists, aside from their sometimes offensive rhetoric (usually to a home audience), were proficient in the nuances and philosophies of Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam (less so with the latter two). They familiarized themselves with the more intimate cultural and religious knowledge of Indian society which the colonial state began to forgo after the mid-nineteenth century. They corrected colonial officials and observers who tended to condescendingly speak of India's religions. Referring to typical disparaging Orientalist rhetoric and charges that Indians were religiously fatalistic, one CMS teacher frankly stated that 'we missionaries know better than that'.[38] In fact the CMS even required all educational missionaries to undertake instruction in a course of comparative religion as part of their pre-departure training.[39] This was to enhance their skills in comparative religious discourse. Professor Stanton at St Stephen's claimed that education allowed scope for the 'East and West of really understanding each other'.[40]

The degree to which missionaries threw themselves into the contours of Indian society and religions was evinced by many. Sir William Hunter, for example, observed that missionaries were the only Europeans in India who received such marked kindness from Indians when they were alive, and generated such mourning and regret when they passed away.[41] This was hardly applicable to most British officials and district collectors. One LMS missionary declared Kipling's east-west dictum a vacuous sham, for missionaries had formed amongst their students 'a brotherhood that has thrown East and West to the winds'.[42] William Holland believed that India had much to teach Europe and the west, and that India 'will bring to light depths of teaching in Him, whose existence we hardly suspect'.[43] These were all examples of how missionary teachers transcended culture and civilization through their prism of morals, faith and piety.

It is clear that these teachers engaged at a general level with Hinduism and Islam. Yet when it came to religious specifics, these Anglican missionaries sought to engage their students by drawing attention to Hinduism's theistic leanings in order to 'prove' that their religious beliefs were not falsehoods but aspirations after 'truth'. As mentioned,[44] this engagement with 'Hindu theism' was not something which missionaries invented or constructed to fit their own agendas. They engaged with a religious landscape which had been noted by travellers and scholars such as Dara Shukoh, Fanny Parks and al-Beruni. Here, the missionary educationist enterprise, from one perspective, enacted little radical change. It rode the contours of Indian society and Hindu religious philosophy. Yet at the same time this was also well-suited towards their own aims of reaching the literate castes and social elite, who were often perceived as more theistic. Missionary educationists used this theistic template in their engagements. They pointed out verses in the *Bhagavad Gita*, the *Veda*s and the *Upanishad*s, to demonstrate that

Hinduism had a strong understanding of theism if not 'genuine' (read: Judeo-Christian and Islamic conceptions of) monotheism.

Most mission teachers found that their students were amenable to engagement along these lines. It must be stressed that these discussions were strictly voluntary. Unlike the few Indian Christian students, Hindus and Muslims were not required to engage in comparative religious discussion. This sustained the educational enterprise and there were countless examples of such. Andrew Fraser, former Bishop of Bombay, argued that educationists must emphasize the theistic leanings of Hinduism to their students and express sympathy with them since they were amenable to such discourse.[45] Thomas Slater of the LMS, who worked extensively in north India, cited that knowledge of God as a single entity was becoming more 'refined and accurate' amongst Indian students.[46] He argued that the great religions of the world 'do not differ materially in their essential principles and in their more important teachings',[47] and that India's future creed would be largely based upon her own religious and moral traditions. Rev. Henry Squire of the CMS claimed that he could not 'see anything sacrilegious in the attempt to set before [Indian] youths the truths that not only interpret to them before God and nature, but are also a response to the undefined yearnings which every soul is dimly conscious of'.[48]

The importance of theism as a stepping stone towards Christianity was further evinced by the support missionaries gave to reforming religious groups. This was seen in the Ahmaq Shahi Samaj. This society was founded in 1885 and purportedly 'discovered' by Rev. J. Qualandar of the CMS. This was a theistic sect with a strong emphasis on social reform, in its abolishment of caste distinctions and idolatry. Its theistic leanings were significant, as one of its main pillars was the worship of God's name only, with no intermediaries. This gained a curiously (though not fully unexpectedly) warm approval from missionaries. Qualandar and many of his fellow labourers up-country expressed a significant amount of sympathy with and support for this group,[49] primarily because it would make dialogue via Fulfilment all the more easier. The reformist and revivalist Arya Samaj was another example. The Samaj was certainly antagonistic to Christianity and missionaries, but at the same time famously propagated Vedic theism reconciled with both Indian tradition and modernity. The Samaj's discarding of what missionaries interpreted as popular Hinduism, idolatry and polytheism were welcomed by educationists, who saw it as 'a distinct advance upon the popular superstition, and very much occupy the same position in India towards Hindus as Protestants with the Bible in their hands do in Europe to Romanists'.[50] Some missionaries even went so far as to support a very Hindu ritual in the form of a *pawitra* (pure) Holi festival which propagated theistic devotion.[51] Lodgers at the Oxford and Cambridge Hostel in Allahabad formed the 'Church of One God'. This was a theistic society which offered prayers to Ram, Krishna, Jesus and Mohammed and emphasized the relationship between God and humanity.[52] The hostel's Warden, Rev. William Holland, spoke approvingly of this group's activities.

Another by-product and pre-condition of these Fulfilment-guided religious discussions was that explicit and disparaging criticisms of other faiths were rare. Schools presented their message not through confrontation but through discussion and discourse. The infamous and energizing work by Rev. Karl Pfander, *Mizam ul-Haqq* (The Balance of Truth), a polemical critique of Islam which circulated in Agra and the Doab during the 1840s and 1850s, and culminated in the great Agra Debate of 1854,[53] was now seen as decidedly outdated and detrimental. One teacher, William Gray of the CMS, proposed to revise this treatise. This would include not only a change in the title, but also omitting the references to the Prophet Mohammed being an epileptic and leaving out words which alluded to the Islamic faith as intolerant And the rare instances of European missionary criticism of India's religions were quickly rebutted by mission colleagues. One example was Mr. Lefroy of the SPG, who wrote a tract on Islam which argued that it was primarily based upon the doctrinal pillar of God's infinite and unbending power. His colleague, Prof. Edward Cowell, interpreted this as insinuating that Muslims were all religious fanatics, and quickly rebuked him. Cowell responded, writing that Lefroy had made a glib critique of Islam, curiously ignoring the role that Sufi mysticism played in moving Islam beyond the conception of God as 'just power'. Cowell was in full sympathy with the reformist *Babi* ('gateship', or the pathway to the hidden imam in Shiite Islam) movement in Islam in 1830s and 1840s Persia, which would later become the cornerstone of the *Baha'i* faith.[54] According to him, it was working to correct the 'faults' of Islam which missionaries usually singled out – obsession with ritual, overly-legalistic understandings of God's power, and gender inequality. Cowell, having familiarized himself with this movement, tellingly admitted: 'I cannot allow that [Islam] is all wanting'.[55] These all reflected a movement away from confrontational missionary methods and which were, more importantly, engaging with Indian religious and social realities.

Yet it was not just expatriate Britons and Europeans who were running the educational enterprise. Indian converts, working in Bengal and increasingly upcountry, were significant and instructive actors. Some of them had come due to the expansion of British military and non-official personnel, and as advocates and merchants in the major cities of the Gangetic plain. Many of them had frequent encounters with missionaries in schools and outside, and some of the most celebrated Indian converts of the CMS, LMS and SPG were Bengalis from before the 1870s. This cadre of Bengali converts supported and expanded the educational enterprise in north India. Much mission activity would never have been undertaken without them. This was another example of how one pillar of the wider enterprise was largely Indian. Rev. J. Bannerjee of the CMS was one such example of someone who worked tirelessly for the mission and was often closer in contact and more involved than some Europeans missionaries.[56] He gave talks to Indian students on moral issues.[57] Rev. Beg, an Indian convert, spoke to students in Calcutta on 'Conscience', 'Theism', 'Knowledge of the Divine Matter', 'The Future State' and 'Bearing of Morality on the Political and Social Duties in Life'.[58] R. P. Mukherjee, another Indian convert, spoke to students at the LMS school in Khagra on 'Temples', 'Morality and Religion' and 'Sacrifices'.[59] At the 1889 meeting of the Indian National Congress, lectures were given by K. C. Bannerjee, another Indian convert, who spoke on 'Christianity and Politics' and R. C. Bose, of the CMS, who spoke on 'The Root Principle of Self-Culture'.[60]

Lectures given to student audiences (and anyone else who wished to attend) were also comparative, which was in line with the emerging discipline of comparative religion and Fulfilment. Here, again, students were willing and active participants. R. C. Bose spoke at St John's on 'Christianity and Hindu Philosophy', 'Buddha as Man' and 'Buddha as a Moralist'.[61] At Christ Church College in Kanpur, run by the SPG, Rev. Qualandar of the CMS hosted an open-air debate in the college's auditorium at the end of 1909 with some 800 Muslim graduates. One of the panel delegates was the Principal of an Islamic *madrassah* (Islamic seminary) in Kanpur. This 'workshop' lasted for three days and the topics of the Incarnation and Atonement were 'presented in light of Moslem thought, and discussion followed each lecture'.[62] Discussion was vibrant and fruitful. Qualandar visited the neighbouring school where, ironically, he actually found the students being trained to utilize the New Testament in order to preach Islam and comparative religion. And in Agra, Rev. Henry Durrant and an Indian professor of philosophy held a joint lecture, discussing the commonalities between their faiths,[63] which included strikingly secular and civic topics including 'Duty', 'Medication', 'Women' and 'Moral Courage'.[64]

Conversion, Indian Agency, and their Pedagogical Bearings

As we have seen so far, mission schools purposefully avoided confrontational engagement with India's religions. This was informed not only by the wider philosophy of Fulfilment, but also by acute structural realities of the educational enterprise. Teachers and headmasters would never have been able to command their students' attention with confrontational religious rhetoric. Yet the functioning, and consequent limitations of mission schools were further shaped by very real Indian social structures, dynamics and consequences, over which schools had little control.

One prime moulding factor in this respect was the role of conversion by Indian students. This was another case of how the enterprise was shaped by Indian society. Hasty conversions were discouraged, for they compromised the very goals of 'character construction' which teachers and headmasters sought. In particular, educationists looked down upon Hindus and Muslims who quickly converted, for whilst it might serve a demographic purpose, in the long-term it did a greater disservice. Converts did little to change their spiritual orientation, and were used as examples to demonstrate both the inefficacy of hasty conversion and its limits. Many educationists observed that lightning-quick conversions did little to change pre-existing behaviour and moralities. English-educated Indians, on the other hand, usually did not convert on account of rice, as *chamar*s and *bhangi*s did under the inducement of more heavily-involved (and better funded) American missionaries. William Holland, who worked in Allahabad for over a decade and, referring to low-caste converts increasingly chased by American missionaries, observed that those who were either illiterate or uneducated usually 'open [their] mouth wide and swallow it whole', unaware of what they were doing.[65] A convert community in the Rohilkand Division offers a prime example. Here, there was a flowering of small Christian communities, most of whom were illiterate villagers, farming communities and petty rural shopkeepers. This division was covered by the American Methodist Episcopal Mission, having worked there for years. A UP government official, Andrew Cruickshank, toured the Division in 1898 and gave an account of the effects of conversion amongst the villagers. He observed, curiously, that the converts' social practices and customs were 'scarcely distinguishable from their [Hindu] neighbours'.[66] Early child marriage was still common, and they had moreover not given up idolatrous practices; the only noticeable difference was in the cleanliness of the converts' homes.[67] This was reflected in educationists' perceptions of other hasty converts. Andrew Birkett of the CMS and his wife recalled how a group of Indian converts, when invited to his home for diner, still refused to dine with them on account of caste.[68] John Harrison of the CMS recalled one example of *chamar* converts. They wished to raise pigs to earn income, now that they were theoretically allowed. They asked Harrison to intervene when villagers grew upset over the proliferation of pigs running amok in their village and when he informed them that they did not have to raise pigs, they replied 'what is the use of being Christian?'[69] One *bhangi* convert even asked his teacher: 'has the Maharani, Queen Victoria, become a goddess yet?'[70] Such incidents led William Holland to sigh that 'a city on a hill is not necessarily a light', referring to the numerous small convert villages across northern India, particularly in Bharatpur.[71] These communities usually converted in groups, and often as entire families, especially due to the prospect of material and financial betterment. William Gray of the

CMS, reflecting upon his work in mission schools, even admitted to the 'foolishness of preaching as a chief means in the accomplishment of the great end'.[72]

The realities of conversion greatly coloured and, in many instances, decidedly shaped the approaches of teachers and headmasters in their attitudes towards education amongst their usually high-caste students from 'respectable' families. One of the more popular missionaries of the latter nineteenth century, John Murdoch, the type of whom have usually been the focus of scholars, continually asserted that mission schools were 'intended as an engine of conversion to Christianity'.[73] But the realities of mission activity were far more complex than both recent scholars and Murdoch himself allowed. Missionaries, in reality, had by the 1870s in north India already been moving away from 'Christianity on the cheap'. This was nowhere better exemplified than in mission schools. Teachers admitted that the success of their enterprise could never be judged statistically, and that even their most fruitful results were found 'in Government and places of business, rather than in the Church'.[74] This reflected the priority they gave to character and 'morals in action' over nominal religious adherence. If anyone was to convert, it had to be preceded by long, genuine spiritual thought and conviction, for an overzealous convert would cause more problems than solutions for the educational enterprise.

Not only were superficial conversions to be studiously avoided, but they inevitably undermined the schools themselves. Here, Indians exercised a particular degree of agency over these institutions. It was largely understood by both Indians and Europeans that students sought recourse to mission schools for general benefits and supplements to their existing moralities, rather than for opportunities to review these afresh. Students themselves championed the moral and general benefits of mission education, whilst being fully aware that teachers possessed little power when it came to having a genuine religious impact. Even though schools were, at least in rhetoric, an explicitly proselytizing agency, they were markedly popular with Indian families for these very reasons. Parents, family structures and extended family ethoses also influenced the orientation of these schools. Most mission teachers and headmasters met their students' parents and developed relationships with larger extended family networks. And here, there was a congruence between parents, who wanted a higher moral (but not necessarily religious) tone, and missionaries, who wanted access to their children. Indian parents regularly sent their children there fully knowing that Bible instruction would be given, yet were aware that mission schools produced few converts. This was done not simply because religious instruction was absent in Government schools, but because the general moral tone was perceived to be higher in mission schools. They were thus constrained by Indian agency, as they had to be sensitive to the reasons for which parents were sending their children.

Breaking that trust emptied the school and deprived missionaries of the very opportunities they needed to engage with students' religiosity.

There were numerous examples of such constraints placed on mission schools. Rev. Worthington Jones of the CMS, for example, observed the rationale of parents and families: 'parents are often sharp enough to see that the morality inculcated at mission schools is indefinitely better than at the Government school; but when there is a chance of their boys becoming Christian they throw morality to the winds'.[75] The Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, Denzel Ibbetson, reflected upon his interactions with Indian parents and mission teachers: 'how high their superior agency is valued when available, is evident from the numberless parents, whose hearts would be broken if they embraced Christianity, yet who send them to Mission Schools'.[76] And it was easy for mission schools to earn the plaudits of Indians for their general moral education. One man, educated at a mission school, embodied not only the value Indian parents placed upon mission education but also the limits of its religious influence upon students. He tried to persuade his neighbours to send their children to the institution, and stood outside the school placarding: 'why do you not send your daughters to this school? Are you afraid of the Christian teaching that is given here? Do you think your daughter will become a Christian? If so, be comforted. In thirty years experience of this place, I have never known that to happen'.[77]

Given the inherently interdependent nature of education itself, mission schools were subject to the vagaries of student temperament to a remarkable and moulding degree. These schools were characterized as much by Indian as they were by missionary agency. One of the most famed and unusual Indian converts, Nehemiah (formerly Nilakanth) Goreh, a Chitpavan Brahman, confided to Charlie Andrews: 'you English cannot imagine what it is for a Brahman to become a Christian. It is very awful'.[78] This was reflected in the educational landscape. Conversion amongst students, when it rarely occurred, further demonstrated just how fragile these institutions were. Mission schoolteachers were fully aware that instances of conversion precipitated a student exodus and robbed them of the only opportunities they might have for being in close contact with students. In the spring of 1891 at the LMS Ramsay College, for instance, one Brahman student converted and the headmaster Edward Oakley had an open rebellion on his hands.[79] This occurred again when another student, Tulsi Ram, underwent public baptism and effectively brought the school to a complete halt. Oakley recognized that the trust and goodwill from both students and parents needed to bring fee-paying pupils to the College was seriously damaged after Ram's conversion.[80] He later confided in his own personal report that 'we do not desire immediate and open results in the conversion of souls',[81] noting that even though he prayed for conversion, he admitted that they would inevitably 'empty our classrooms'.[82] For Oakley, conversion ironically was a double-edged sword – it was the ultimate aim of missionaries yet at the same time it was a detriment towards achieving that goal. Other examples abounded. At the LMS high school in Mirzapur a student showed a slight inclination towards converting and the entire student population mutinied and walked out.[83] Rev. G. B. Durrant of the CMS opened a school in a village in the outskirts of Lucknow at the requests of local residents, but when rumours were circulated by the Arya Samaj that teachers was trying to convert students, its classrooms were emptied *en masse* and completely shut the school down after only a few terms.[84] Another CMS school in Azamgarh, in the autumn of 1910, was temporarily shut down due to pressure from the Arya Samaj, who circulated rumours that the school would convert all of their children – this led to a mass exodus.[85] And at William Holland's beloved student hostel in Allahabad in 1905, the students, outraged by Lord Curzon's partition of Bengal and rumours of conversion, effectively shut the hostel down. Administrative work ceased, and even lectures were countered. Some of the boys managed to spy on Holland and others preparing lectures and, once finding out the topic, quickly rushed back to organize and deliver a counter-lecture within one hour.[86]

In the United Provinces, the actual impact missionary educationists had in promoting religious and spiritual inquiry, which led to conversion, was unsurprisingly minuscule. Mission schools proved unable to have a serious and concrete religious impact. The demographic realities demonstrated that missionary education, even if it was accused of engaging in religious subterfuge, was characterized more by its aridities rather than its effectiveness. Individuals such as Oakley, Andrews and Holland all recognized that their influence was 'not so much on the ground [as] in the air'.[87] This led one Indian, Jayarama Rau, to comically remark that all the educated converts of British India could be accounted for on one hand.[88] Rau got his numbers wrong, but not the essence of his observation. Nearly all converts in north India were illiterate. Most Indian Christians in the Gangetic plain never went to, let alone ever saw, a mission school. Societies which were least involved with higher and secondary education, mainly the American Presbyterian and Methodist Missions were, by contrast, in fact far more successful when it came to conversion. This largely reflected an unofficial division of labour between American Episcopal, Baptist and Methodist, and Anglican missionaries – the former groups worked primarily among low-caste communities while the latter worked more with Brahmans and other *dvija* (twice-borne) Hindus. Americans worked with communities of *bhangi*s (sweepers) and *chamar*s (leather tanners). Not only were these very educational missions averse to pursuing converts *en masse*, but they had little to do with the mass movements and demographic change which swept northern India between 1890 and 1910. American Protestant missions, by contrast, were so successful that in some districts Methodists and Presbyterians constituted nearly the entire native convert community. In the Dehra Dun, Agra (1,158 out of 2,343), Almora (689 out of 1,289) Saharanpur (1,100 out of 1,617), Muzaffanagar (1,200 out of 1,259), and Garhwal (536 out of 538) Districts, for instance, American Methodists and Congregationalists made up nearly the entire Indian Christian population.[89] One missionary cited the Moradabad District and wrote that 'the only Mission work being carried on in the [Moradabad] district is that of the American Methodist Mission and they confine themselves entirely to the lowest castes, so that the more respectable agricultural and industrial classes are being entirely untouched'.[90] Three quarters of all Anglicans in UP, by contrast, were either Anglo-Indian or European (30,912 out of 41,505), which meant that only about 10,000 Indians had converted to Anglicanism.[91] This was a microscopic percentage of Indians who converted.

Aside from the wider society of the Gangetic plain, mission schools themselves also fared poorly when it came to conversions. St John's and the welter of high schools and hostels in UP saw but a trickle of converts. Missionaries wrote to their home audience and claimed that most of their students were 'secret Christians', believing but unwilling to risk the social ostracism of baptism. Yet this was more a reflection of their desire to prove that their funds were being out to good use, rather than accurate representations of their schools' inherent success. There were numerous examples from schools which underscored missionary education's inefficacy. Jai Narain College in Banaras did not produce a single convert over the course of twenty-two years.[92] The CMS high school in Lucknow produced only two converts between 1888 and 1910,[93] whilst the Bishop of Calcutta, during his eighteen years of experience, could not recall a single instance of the conversion of an English-educated Indian in UP.[94] By 1900 not one student at St Stephen's had converted.[95] And the sole student convert of the LMS in northern India in 1913 was not even at a mission school, but at the Central Hindu College in Banaras.[96]

Another factor which complicated missionary educationist efforts, and ultimately conversion, was the conflation Indian students made between Christianity with Englishness. To put it mildly, this caused more headaches for teachers and headmasters than anything else. This was another way in which Indians forced mission schools, however indirectly, to reorient their means and ends. School as institutions, and teachers as missionary Christians, had to be careful not to associate too closely with Englishness and not to conflate empire with Anglo-Saxonism. This also further detracted mission schools' attention from religion *per se* and led them to increasingly emphasize more holistic ethics, ideals and morals. When one missionary, for instance, came to say 'Blessed are the meek', he was interrupted by a young boy who replied: 'Sir, the Englishman may inherit the Earth, but if you call him meek, he would be insulted'.[97] The most famous missionary in pre-Independence India, Charlie Andrews, recalled an incident when a carriage carrying a British officer passed down the road and an entire crowd of people hurriedly gave way. His dear Indian friend wryly remarked: 'look, there is your Christianity driving along'.[98]

East and West: Education and Representations of India

The combination of missionaries' efforts to engage their students in comparative, Fulfilment-inspired religious discussion, and an increasing wariness of hasty conversion, had important moulding consequences for missionary education. One result of this congruence was that missionary teachers and headmasters such as Holland, Durrant and Oakley all touched upon the larger Oriental-Occidental debates which themselves were current during this period. These larger stereotypes and constructions have been documented by scholars, but have often, as is well-known and documented, presented arguments simplistically and have focused exclusively on the more disparaging constructions of India by both missionaries and Orientalist scholars.[99] This section aims to link the means by which mission schools sought to engage their students in matters of spirituality with larger issues of 'Orientalism'. In their desire to draw out the theistic and moral tenets of Hinduism, these institutions and individuals fashioned their own representation of India, Europe and the wider religious world which were not always disparaging. One important by-product of this was that 'morality' became not so much an exclusive purview of the west but a more transcendental, universalized ideal.

First it is necessary, briefly, to give the world of Orientalism some qualification and wider contexts. It almost goes without saying that absent from Said's work, and that which has been inspired by him, have been the stereotypes made about the west by non-Europeans themselves. Stereotypes of the west and of crude, drink-prone, fornicating Europeans, for example, pre-dated colonialism in eighteenth-century Awadh.[100] By the latter nineteenth century, English-educated Bengalis and others upcountry were fashioning pictures of *firangi*s (foreigners) who stunk of alcohol.[101] Swami Vivekananda popularized ideas that Europeans were spiritually inept and unable to comprehend the nature of the Divine as effectively.[102] And more famously, Gandhi himself was well known for his beliefs that Europeans were materialistic and slaves to machinery.[103] These teachers and headmasters, therefore, stepped into an environment which was already awash with glib generalizations.

Secondly, it is also necessary to put missionary disparaging of the 'other' in a wider context and to link the foreign and domestic mission fields. Missionary rhetorical blasting was neither unique to colonialism nor wholly directed towards nominal non-Christians. Missionary disparaging of the 'other' and the 'heathen' in their missionary pamphlets and sermons were commonplace within Britain itself, and bore striking similarities to those directed towards foreign mission-reading audiences. This expansion of domestic mission activity, itself often running parallel with expansion abroad and reflecting its rhythms, gave rise to condescending essentialisms (to use the modern jargon) when describing the urban working poor of Britain's industrial cities. Here, imperial and domestic expansion was very much linked together in terms of attitudes, education and 'uplift'. Missionaries used the same sets of language and descriptions which dominated publications such as the *Church Missionary Intelligencer, The East and the West* and the *Chronicle of the London Missionary Society* – all of which were overwhelmingly concerned with mission activity abroad – in their descriptions of the British working classes. They were commonly referred to as 'the downtrodden' and 'the ignorant,' particularly in the urban slums of Manchester, Liverpool and parts of south London. Liverpool, for example, had a sizeable domestic mission sphere and was better manned than particular outposts in north India. Tellingly, the city's bishop, in language which could have been taken straight from a pamphlet on missions in India, described Liverpool as 'the moral Waterloo of the nation, where good and evil were engaged in a hand to hand struggle. In no place was evil stronger, more active and more determined'.[104] This was not too dissimilar from early nineteenth-century accounts of Brahmans as 'agents of the Devil'. South London was another prime example. Rev. W. Allen Whiteworth could have been describing a mission outpost in the rural Gangetic plain to an audience eight thousand miles away when he called Bermondsey, in the borough of Southwark, 'difficult quarters indeed for a young Christian'.[105] London itself was described by missionaries as a metropolis of 'spiritual destitution',[106] whilst the working classes of Newcastle-upon-Tyne were branded 'great sinners'.[107]

Racial, social and religious attitudes were already multifarious and complex in the larger colonial environment in which missionary educationists worked. Missionary educationists, however, it must be stressed, tended to avoid these simplistic categories and disparagements. This was because religion, morals and faith – which were most important to them – transcended these larger categories. Their aims and means had important and binding consequences for the ways in which they dealt with specific matters of gender, Englishness and 'muscular Christianity'. They often concerned themselves more with these issues than with race. Missionary desires to draw out the best in Indian character and the 'truths' of Hinduism and Islam, admittedly desperate and Christocentric, meant that they would seek confirmations of their own faith and morals in Indian as often as (and often more frequently than) in the west and Britain. This ensured that they transcended the supposed 'different' worlds of east and west. These educationists were, consequently, unusually critical of western and English character traits. Teachers such as Holland, Durrant and Oakley were averse to many of the

Anglicizing tendencies which the colonial education system tended to perpetuate. It would be simplistic and one-sided to say that this lay solely in their desire to make conversion easier. It was informed, above all, by a desire to maximize their influence.

Englishness and Anglo-Saxonism, for example, were issues which attracted missionary criticism and were part of the larger rubric of the educational enterprise. This was not solely because associating with Englishness would do a disservice to Christianity. Many CMS, LMS and SPG teachers genuinely believed Anglicization was detrimental to India's spiritual 'evolution'. What is more, the larger template of Fulfilment ensured that traits in Hinduism and Islam would be draw out and lauded at the expense of particular English characteristics. These missionaries were quick to expose the 'un-Christian' characteristics and dubious practices of British officials and soldiers.[108] Missionaries criticized excessive Englishness and located admirable and 'Christian' qualities in India's own moral and religious traditions. This drew connections between Hinduism with Christianity. Alexander Duff, likely the most unabashed and bellicose missionary of the latter nineteenth century, may have wanted to see Indian fully Anglicized, but he was never fully representative. Foremost amongst these dissenting educationists was Andrew Fraser of the CMS. Having worked in Allahabad, Banaras and Lucknow, he understood perfectly well that state-run schools had to Anglicize 'in order to succeed'. But this was, he argued 'not a suitable policy'[109] for mission schools. Charlie Andrews and others believed that missionaries 'have learnt since his day that the problem is one of assimilation and not substitution'.[110] John Ellwood of the CMS shared these sentiments, noting that one of the primary tasks of the educationist was 'to allow the Native individuality to fully assert itself'.[111] He also was averse to any tendencies to try to Anglicize his pupils, for he though it necessary to 'keep Western energy and individuality from overpowering the native'.[112] Ellwood went on to explain that 'each nation has its own way of looking at things, and the Englishman is ever ready to think that he knows better than anyone else ... our English way of doing things is often inadvisable and cumbersome. We would give instances if time would permit'.[113] He also used the analogy of a cauliflower seed acclimating to Indian soil. Education and Christian morality were the seeds and in time they would become Indian after a few generations.[114] One LMS mission teacher in eastern UP admitted that he was greatly disillusioned as to the Christian qualities of western civilization. He drew upon a wider awareness of European imperialism – particularly in the 'Scramble for Africa' after 1882 – and described Europe's actions in the larger world, in language similar to the most disparaging Orientalist texts, as tribal and barbaric.[115] Englishmen, this teacher's colleagues argued, had half learnt the lesson of the Gospel's message of a common brotherhood and equality – this was evinced in the rigid class and social divisions which the

British were so keen to maintain at home and abroad.[116] Charlie Andrews, again, chided the worldliness[117] and others teachers the hot temper[118] of hidebound Anglo-Indian society. Criticism came from other corners as well. One observer, Leonard Alston, candidly referred to the poor Indian pupil 'who is unjustly kept down in subordinate position by the racial arrogance of the brutal European'.[119] Rev. Matthew Sherring, one of the great socio-religious taxonomists of north India, berated the 'thoroughly materialistic orientation of ... English rulers', and how these tendencies did an unfortunate disservice to the mission school.[120] When one student at Ramsay College began working with poorer communities in Almora, it led his headmaster, Rev. John Budden, to remark that English officials might learn a thing or two.[121] Edwin Greaves of the LMS remarked that Englishmen professed but rarely followed their religious creed,[122] whilst one St Stephen's teacher called the nominal profession of Christianity by the average English administrator 'rubbish'.[123] The Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College (MAO), was an interesting case in point. Missionaries criticized it not so much for being a Muslim institution, but for being a slave to English imitation.[124] Many educationists even suggested that the message and essence of Bible morality would be more readily acceptable to Hindus than to Englishmen. William Holland in Allahabad,[125] Edward Oakley in Almora, and Henry Packenham-Walsh in Delhi[126] all admitted this at one point or another.

Gender, Education and the Religious Worldview

Another by-product of missionary engagements with north Indian society, via their educational enterprise, was their interactions with issues of gender. Anglo-Saxonism was, in part, an issue of gender. Englishness, as Mrilanini Sinha has argued, was a gendered form of masculinity with strong imperial undertones.[127] This was another dimension of the educationist enterprise. Detailed examinations of these educationists' memoirs and interactions with students are revealing, for they demonstrate that gender and imperial identity were not always bed-fellows. Here, gender was not just employed as part of a conservative defining of imperial Britain and establishing colonial 'difference', but was used by educationists to subvert these very underpinnings of Britishness and, to a degree, empire.

One way in which these educationists challenged these prevalent (though by no means dominant) gender stereotypes was through the issue of 'colonial masculinity'. The belief that a degree of manliness was bound up with 'good learning' did have a profound impact upon educational experiences in Britain.[128] At varying levels, this did reproduce itself abroad and this was partly translated onto the Indian stage. But it was never absolute. Muscular high Victorian Christianity, to a degree a by-product of 'Godliness and good learning', did have a prominence and attracted a populist following by 1900. As Sinha has argued, Indians were seen as 'effeminate' compared to the 'manly Christian' Englishman. Much of this had to do with schooling – the argument that since India had no public schools, her men could not be 'manly'. But this did not mean that such stereotypes were necessarily shared by those most closely associated with Christianity's actual propagation. On closer inspection, some of the most severe critics of British aggression and 'manly Christianity' were those most involved in the religion's propagation. Missionaries, it must be remembered, spent many years in India and formed close relationships with students and their parents. One consequence was that these educationists were exposed to alternative forms of masculinity and gender understandings – their own perceptions of 'character' and 'Christian' traits were coloured by their Indian experiences.

This cadre of educationists disentangled Englishness from Christianity through their engagement with textbooks and their contents. These were, often enough, faulted for their adoration of Anglo-Saxonism. Many subjects and books in Government schools, for instance, were taken without any alteration from Britain. This meant that Indian students were, to some degree, receiving the 'masculine' ideals which had greatly influenced the ethoses of English schools and universities. More practically, Indian students were not only prepared for the London degree, but also were exposed to dominant forms of 'manliness' which was, as Andrew Fraser of the CMS argued, 'unjust as well as foolish'.[129] Fraser largely represented the views of most CMS, SPG and LMS educationists. He believed that textbooks, prescribed by the Department of Public Instruction, did nothing but force students to imitate English manners and history. He wanted to introduce books not on English history, but on India's,[130] and admitted that India's future 'will not lie in the imitation of ourselves and our life, but in being true to her own self as God has made her'.[131] He derided what he saw as the unfortunate 'veneration of the Anglo-Saxon',[132] and that the present system of English and Government education 'succeeds in glorifying and propagating the aggressive virtues of the Anglo-Saxon at the expense of all that is deepest in our life, and that which makes us kin to our brothers of the East'.[133] This was one of many examples of how missionaries contested dominant gender paradigms. Another CMS report argued that the present curriculum, prescribed by Government, did too much to champion Englishness – this was a detriment to both Indian character and missionary aims.[134]

Numerous other missionary educationists shared these thoughts and understandings. Colin Sharp of the SPG, who taught at St Stephen's College for years, brooded upon the widely circulated assumptions that England could be distinguished from India due to its 'manly' leadership and 'respect' for women. In this respect he argued that Europeans, and especially British officials, 'were constantly making rash generalizations concerning the differences of East and West'.[135] William Holland also touched upon gender. He was concerned with the relationships between Gospel morals and English characteristics, which he often saw in direct contradiction of each other. Holland reported that most of his Hindu students could do well to teach Englishmen some of the more basic Gospel ideals directly opposed to manliness – humility, forgiveness and gentility.[136] Englishmen, Holland noted, usually interpreted these as 'un-Christian', and not 'manly' enough. Reactionary British administrators and scholars such as Denzel Ibbetson may have looked upon Hinduism as being 'devoid of all ethical significance',[137] but Andrew Fraser and others confided that the very Christian and 'feminine' ideals of humility and forgiveness were practised more by Hindus than Englishmen; his students were intellectually more astute.[138]

Of this World and the Next: Empires of God and Man

Another consequence of these engagements with gender stereotypes was the attitudes missionary educationists held concerning the role of empire. 'Civilization' and Christianity, as evinced by opinions in the 1850s[139] and by Charles Trevelyan in particular,[140] may have been rhetorical bedfellows. But upon closer inspection, views were far more complex, varied and nuanced. Missionary educationists were part of this diverse tapestry in opinion. For the educational enterprise, the symmetry between Christian morals and western civilization, and the supposed proof of their accompanying cultural superstructures, rested on shaky foundations.

William Holland was one educationist who did much to question the connections between imperial and Godly authority. He located particularly 'Christian' characteristics not amongst colonial officials, but amongst his own Hindu and Muslim students. Holland was quick to chide colonial officialdom for their superficial and contradictory professions of Christianity. Englishmen demonstrated some very undesirable moralities, which led Holland to remark that 'after centuries of Christianity we have still not accomplished the most elementary of tasks, that of mastering our temper'.[141] Anglicism and the mimicking of English ways, and matters of 'efficiency', were not what mission schools needed: 'there may be Indian clergy whose account books would not pass muster in a law court, but who, if put in charge of a group of simple Christians would be centres of inspiration and forward movement'.[142] He clearly separated colonialism from its purportedly 'civilising' faith by stating that nations give ideals of their morals by the devices of their standards. European nations tended to use lions and eagles. But those creatures, Holland symbolically asserted, would never inherit the earth.[143] He also criticized what he saw as the very English trait of uncompromisingly assuming leadership in everything[144] and even called Christianity in England an 'unresolved problem'.[145] Holland's colleague, Henry Tubbs, called European arms and the race for Empire in Africa as emblematic of the 'fiendish weapons of European anarchy'.[146]

Christianity, as Gyan Prakash has suggested, underlay the 'civilising mission' of colonialism at many different levels.[147] There was indeed a strong Christian component of 'civilising' as evinced in European science and technology and their assaults on the Puranas and Hindu mythology. Yet this did not prevent Indians from contesting it. Students, saints and scholars were attentive to larger global histories in the world's religious, political and civilizational systems and their developments. This was another factor which moulded the development of the educational enterprise. The intellectual landscape in which missionary educationists worked was aware of the contradictions between Christianity and civilization and, in turn, imperial rule. There were many examples of such contestations. The editor of the *Rakhbar* newspaper in Moradabad, for instance, in an apparent rebuff of Alexander Duff's rhetoric, argued that missionaries should not delude themselves in thinking that more missionary influence in India would bind her to the British Empire. He cited the United States and Ireland as examples of their 'Christian kin' violently going astray, and argued that faith never kept nations together.[148] Chintaman Vinayak Vaidya, the Chief Justice of Gwalior, fellow of Bombay University and politician-cum-scholar of medieval and late-medieval India, brought his wider breadth of historical knowledge to bear upon the relationships between empire and Christianity. He argued that Christians were a most intolerant lot. In spite of their 'civilising' and peaceful message, they had fought more wars and spread more misery than any other people on earth in human history. He went on over the course of thirty-odd pages to test the case of marriage as a barometer of civilization. He demonstrated that missionary criticisms of Hindu marriage customs as 'backward' were contradictory. He reviewed the longer history of marriage as an institution in Europe, its relationships to the Church, and the numerous political marriages amongst European royal households. In doing so he drew up a global comparative history. Vaidya demonstrated that love, the usual missionary answer to everything, rarely characterized European marriages. He cited numerous examples of European royal marriage alliances based on strategy, ruthless political engineering and Godless *realpolitik*.[149]

Pratap Chunder Muzumdar of the Brahmo Samaj was another example of an Indian who was able to contest the relationship between Christianity and empire. Muzumdar was well-read in the natures of other religious systems and approached religion and faith from a comparative perspective. He spoke to the Lucknow Student's Association on the nature of religious faith and after quoting from the Koran, *Manusmriti* and the Vedas, he came to the Bible. Teachers from the CMS were also present. Here he paused. Jesus, he confessed, had solved man's quest for salvation. But, he claimed, 'it was a misfortune that He had been brought to India by Europeans, and more or less in the guise of a European'.[150] Muzumdar argued that the Europeans had become powerful and dominant not because of Christianity but, very tellingly, in spite of it.[151]

This tenuous relationship between empire and evangelism was manifested in numerous other ways. These often had to do with cultural values. Missionary educationists such as Holland, Oakley and Durrant brought attention to what they considered the admirable characteristics of Indian culture and morality which were usually believed by colonial authorities to be either non-existent or aberrations from 'traditional' India. This was another example of how this cadre of educationists complicated the supposed polarized religious, cultural and social divisions of colonial society. Rev. Kenneth Kennedy of the CMS questioned (in an apparent subtle snub to Macaulay) the notion that the English language was inherently more civilized and would surreptitiously inculcate Christian values. Rebuffing his colonial peers and aloof British administrators, he remarked that it was 'a miserable conceit and insularity to imagine that a man cannot be a truly cultured and devout gentleman unless he knows English'.[152] In fact, he even proposed that mission schools and hostels should be run by laymen, not insouciant, erudite individuals with a penchant to speak English at the expense of the vernacular.[153] At the CMS Girls School in Muttra, the Headmistress required her girls to wear Indian as opposed to European dress.[154] Educationists' perceptions of India were even characterized by a sense of admiration. Edward Oakley, who spent much time with Himalayan communities in Garhwal and Kumaon when not at Ramsay College, observed that 'there is much that is amiable and worthy of respect in the life and character of the people'.[155] The divisions between east and west were blurred further. One CMS mission teacher stated that 'not all [one] finds in Hinduism is Indian, but some of it is very Occidental indeed'.[156]

There was another manner in which educationists contested the relationship between empire and Christianity. This had to do with European modernity and commercial prosperity as 'proof of superiority'. European colonialism and intellectual change, bred, in part, contentious, divisive forces of secularization[157] and materialism. These were viewed with anxiety and unease by missionary educationists, for it could conceivably hinder the progress of what many missionaries believed to be God's plan for the world. They were also weary of the materialism which could undermine the eventual triumph of a religious and Godly society. Many were convinced that materialism in particular was running rampant under British colonial rule. Andrew Fraser of the CMS observed that its proliferation was at work not only in India, but also in Britain.[158] The Rev. John Maclean regretfully observed that the modern Hindu had been 'corrupted by the worldly West and the soul of modern industrialism'.[159] Holland again assailed the 'pagan materialism'[160] of his countrymen. Another LMS schoolteacher called it misleading to believe that commerce should be taken as proof of Christian superiority, arguing that many manifestations of excess materialism suggested a great deal of spiritual backwardness.[161] They were fully aware that parts of Indian society were alive to the material and commercial benefits of British rule. John Maclean, again, observed with uneasiness that India had 'been so ready and quick to rudely adopt the spirit of the West'.[162] He seems to have believed that the Raj was not so much creating materialism in India, but that it was exacerbating a pre-existing materialist mentality. Commercial and moneyed Indian groups (such as *bania*s and *marwari*s), and the creeping effects of British materialism and utilitarianism, had become partners in a way which disgusted many school teachers. This was because it served to make their very other-worldly religious work more difficult. And Maclean spoke from experience. After his first ten years working in India, he recalled that for every religious questions he received there were ten about the relationship between conversion and livelihood.[163] Some of the questions and statements missionaries encountered included: 'will your God give us food on easier terms than we get it now', and 'our gods have fed and clothed us all or days; we shall trust them to the end'.[164] He remained convinced that hostility to Christianity had its roots not just in caste, but 'in general worldliness'.[165] One LMS missionary even admitted that the 'enemies' of Christianity were not idolatrous, relativist Hindu philosophy and expansionist Islam, but agnosticism, modernity and worldliness themselves.[166]

Missionaries' profession as religious interpreters to their students, combined with their intimate knowledge of India and their selfish desires to maximize their own influence, had another important consequence. These missionaries tended to engender a culturally-hybrid morality with their students, combining what they saw as the best of each, to further their own ends. In terms of pedagogy, this religious factor effectively ensured that mission schools were neither Anglicist nor Orientalist[167] but a quizzical admixture of both. This cultural hybridism was a perfect reflection both of the deep missionary engagements with Indian society and the nature of the educational enterprise itself. For example Bishop Whitehead, on a visit to Lucknow in 1907, stated to an audience that English education had deprived India of her glorious yet unrecognized vernacular literature. He argued that what was needed was not the replacement of one culture and language with another but a hybrid and assimilation of the best of English and the vernacular.[168] One CMS teacher worker emphatically declared: 'we want to see neither East nor West',[169] whilst another headmaster approved the proliferating use of 'Hinglish'. He was continually asked by his students, to his great satisfaction: *aur koi porter hai* (is there another porter)?[170] These teachers indulged themselves in forms of hybridization and 'going native', and were intimate with Indian society. William Holland, for instance, encouraged many missionary teachers to go, as his did, to school in the morning not in carriages like British officials but like his students, on bicycles.[171] Rev. Allnutt of St

Stephen's, rather than taking a carriage like many of his racial kin, regularly rode his bicycle and could often be seen as the only European in the narrow and congested streets of Delhi's Chandi Chowk.[172] Rev. A. R. Hickling of the LMS and his wife were so well-versed in Indian fashion and mannerisms that they were actually mistaken by locals for an organized, if curiously fair-skinned, band of *dacoits*.[173] John Partiger was enthusiastic and rather proud in receiving an Indian farewell ceremony complete with garlands and Sanskrit hymns at St John's College.[174] One LMS teacher captured the degree to which missionaries involved themselves in Indian society when he stated that 'India is already casting its spell over us. We are growing to love it'.[175]

Classroom Moralities and the Foundations of Affective Knowledge: Action and Ethics

The increasing emphasis on character and civic behaviour, combined with the marginalization of acute, confrontational religiosity in mission schools, had significant bearings upon the role of knowledge in the educational enterprise. Missionaries' own theological temperaments, as much as the realities of pedagogy in the classroom, made mission schools devote more attention to theistic forms of morality. This made their classrooms more religiously-plural than they would have liked. And one consequence of this was that affective knowledge, or knowledge which prompts one to action, became dominant in the educational enterprise. Teachers and headmasters preached more about the public sphere and the importance of public morality, rather than the doctrinal faith schoolteachers were originally paid to propagate: 'Christianity in action' rather than 'Christianity in doctrine'. This was another example of how mission schools were, to a degree, secularized. This was neither an agnostic nor a public-removed secularism, but a religiously-plural one which held itself together with theism, which we have seen was an underlying *modus operandi* in the educational enterprise. The ascendancy of affective knowledge was largely a result of the ways in which both Indians and missionaries were moulding and reorienting the larger network of schools and colleges across the Gangetic plain.

Morals and behaviour, rather than doctrine, became the primary preoccupation of most mission schools and teachers. Educationists felt satisfied and resigned to the unchangeable reality that their students were being given a more general 'moral' education. This reflected particular limits of Christian influence in India. This was confirmed by students themselves, who attested to the general moral and, at times, humanistic tones of mission schools and teachers. Former students at the Oxford and Cambridge Hostel in Allahabad admitted to their Warden, William Holland, that the benefit of their lodging had more to do with general moral and humanistic influences rather than specifically religious ones.[176]

Jai Narain's School in Banaras made it an explicit goal to form 'moral character' amongst its students rather than regularly give theological and doctrinal lessons on Christianity.[177] One orthodox Hindu, in conversation with a mission school teacher from Banaras, argued that mission schools were having an effect upon social and humanistic, rather than religious reform.[178]

For most of these educationists, it did not matter much whether pupils absorbed the doctrines of Bible lessons. What was paramount was that they put them into practice. This was another example of the centrality of affective knowledge. This also reflected the vitiating of the educational enterprise's own religiosity. CMS teachers maintained that so long as their pupils were influenced by purportedly 'Christian' ideals, such as service, humility, forgiveness, and a theistic understanding of God, then the school's aims would be fulfilled. In a way, mission schools were contributing, as they saw it, to the already-regenerating pillars of Indian civil society. At St Stephen's, Colin Sharp did not want to teach Christianity as a system of religion *per se*, but wanted to propagate its outward manifestation and resultant virtues of public charity and civic duty.[179] Writing on the CMS high school in Meerut, the annual report noted that the welfare of the boys was sought 'with a view to the production of honest, truth-loving upright characters'. This was the school's primary aim.[180] St John's College, one of the most prestigious and well-attended missionary colleges in north India, was guided by a similar aim. Education was to 'lead students to recognise, not simply the claims of Christ but, if possible, to fix upon them a sense of moral responsibility, and the duty of making a decision'.[181] Charles Gill of the CMS argued that a school's aim was not to convert but to diffuse 'Christian' ideals, and that missionary societies had 'expended men and means lavishly upon their colleges with this aim largely in view'.[182] These were all examples of the increasing importance of affective knowledge within the educational landscape of north India.

Conclusion

As we have seen, mission schools aimed to be vibrant spiritual centres, in which religion and spirituality were comparatively discussed. This was all done with the aim of persuading Indian students that Christianity was the ultimate manifestation and progeny of their civilization's religious and moral evolution. Yet, as we have seen, this plan was thwarted from the onset. These schools scattered across the Gangetic plain, parts of the Punjab, and north-western Bengal, spent most of their time dispelling the misconceptions of Christianity with which they had to contend. Ironically, the theological template of Fulfilment – which sought to build an Indian Christianity from Indian and Hindu tradition – further marginalized the role of religiosity. This was largely due to its own dynamics and the means by which missionaries sought engagement. Yet it was also due to the acute and moulding sociological realities of imparting knowledge. No policy pronouncements from Calcutta (and later Delhi) could have changed this. One important consequence of this stunted engagement was the hinge of theism which teachers and headmasters sought to utilize in engaging with Hinduism. It demonstrated just how limited Fulfilment and missionary rhetoric was 'on the spot'. Yet at the same time, and partly as a consequence, missionary educationists fashioned attitudes towards gender, civilization and empire which were different from predominant imperial and metropolitan norms. These were all instructive, for they were all examples of how religious Christianity, bound up with larger theological developments and, at various levels, related to larger imperial, social and cultural realities, was ultimately marginalized within the educational enterprise. Yet it also demonstrated how religiosity was bound up with the role of knowledge in schools. The following chapter will move into the sociology and infrastructures of pedagogy which, in turn, were related to the efficacy of imparting knowledge in a colonial setting. These were significant, for they bore upon the impact of both Christian and western secular knowledge upon India and, in the end, Indian fashioning of patriotism.

4 THE FAILURES OF EDUCATION AND ITS SOCIOLOGICAL BEARINGS

So far this book has examined the wider contexts of emergent missionary education and the larger religious and social issues with which the educational enterprise had to deal. This chapter, by contrast, will analyse the specific – yet significant – workings of education. These were significant, for studies of colonial education and its purported 'rupturing' effects have, curiously, overlooked the infrastructures of pedagogy and their effectiveness in actually imparting knowledge. These were no less important than the larger role that institutions played. This chapter suggests that the massive institutional change in educational traditions enacted by the British introduction of western-style institutions and examinations did not necessarily mean that it was either completely disruptive or effective. The structure of education certainly seemed, on the surface, dominating and restrictive, rendering the traditional *tol*, *gurukul* and *pathshala* obsolete. Yet upon closer inspection, colonial education itself rested upon a tenuous and shaky infrastructure. The very conducive atmospheres which were to give mission schools their religious character were as elusive as the converts for which their benefactors hoped. Ironically, mission schools had to come to terms with pressures emanating from the very bureaucratic and institutional superstructures which were their lifeline. A more careful and empirical analysis of institutional education, this chapter argues, reveals that it was inimical to both religiosity and, at times, general spirituality. The very infrastructure built up by both Indians and Europeans also ensured that it would reproduce particular Indian social ethoses, norms and values which would colour the emergence of Indian patriotism.

Compromised Aims: Missionary Finances and Government Dependency

Missionary educationists had their religious and evangelical activities constrained in a myriad of ways. One of the most important was in relation to finance. This was intricately related not only to the composition of their student and teacher bodies, but also to their reliance upon Government for financial backing. Missionary dependence upon state funds as a means of subsidization hindered the aims of mission schools from the onset. This was due to the very infrastructure they built up. As one north Indian missionary from the CMS remarked: 'the whole question [of education] is a financial one'.[1]

The educational enterprise was highly dependent upon the UP Government for its financial lifeline. Mission schools were subsidized by the Government to a substantial and binding degree, which itself was in accord with Wood's 1854 Despatch. Most mission schools were not self-sufficient in their finances. These institutions accepted government aid in order to advertise a connection with government and state employment which was, in turn, ultimately about legitimacy and gaining acceptance from Indian families. Grants normally covered anywhere between 30% and 60% of non-fee based revenue.[2] This was important, for non-fee derived revenue exacerbated schools' dependence upon Government. Andrew Fraser admitted that mission schools were 'compelled by starvation to accept as the directors of their policy abroad Government officials who may or may not be hostile, but who, however sympathetic, are never free to throw themselves heartily into the realization of our object and aim'.[3] These finances were indicative of their general dependence and, to a degree, instability

Table 12: Sources of (non-fee) revenue, Rs., in select mission schools:[4]

School	Gov.	Other	Gov. as %
CMS HS, Lucknow	1,750	1,968	47
CMS Branch Schools, Lal, Nahari	220	733	23
CMS School, Jabalpur	378	373	50
CMS School, Jaunpur	1,800	873	67
CMS District School, Basti	—	—	63
CMS AV School, Faizabad	446	275	62
LMS HS, Almora	—	—	65
Ramsay College (LMS)	—	—	50
LMS School, Rhani Khet	—	—	60
CMS Schools, Gorakhpur	50	170	30
St John's College	4,800	7,387	40
SPG Banda School	35	126	20

Mission schools were dependent upon the Department for other projects, such as the Hostel constructed for St John's College. This residence had been thought up by John Haythornwaite, and had a third of its cost subsidized by a Government grant.[5] In 1908 the CMS Lucknow high school received a special grant of Rs. 3,000 to construct a science laboratory, without which the Department stated that the school would not be efficient, and could suffer a loss in its grant.[6] The CMS Jaunpur Mission School cost Rs. 10,000 to open in 1873; Government covered half the initial cost.[7]

This connection also allowed Government to maintain control over one of the most important components of pedagogy: textbooks. The British were unflinching when it came to control over the books used in classrooms, and opined that government assistance meant a strict adherence to Department standards. The Home Department in Calcutta ruled that 'financial assistance and control ought to go together',[8] and that 'control is as necessary as freedom ... [but] control must rest with the Departmental'.[9] The Department had clear control over the textbooks used in mission schools. Government could withdraw grants on the account of 'offensive' or 'insulting' texts. This had the effect of limiting confrontational Christianity, in the form of religious polemic or derision of Indian tradition, within the printed curricula of mission schools. One Home Department official asserted that 'if Government helps a school with a grant-in-aid it is clearly entitled to demand that a proper system of education is pursued in it, and that suitable textbooks are used'.[10] These were all clear examples of Government prerogative.

Schools were also pressured to conform to Departmental standards and enhance their own prestige with their Government-connected credibility and semblance of legitimacy. Secular subjects – which required funds to meet Departmental standards – gained attention at the expense of religious lessons. This had the effect of forcing mission schools to concentrate more upon secular matters than they would have liked. The CMS high school in Narhai, for instance, had to compete with a new Government school. Rev. Stanley Morse, the headmaster, received a letter from Edward Richardson offering the School an increased grant if it concentrated more of its educational expenditure in urban centres.[11] Morse's school was perpetually running on the cheap, and he grudgingly referred to the letter as one of 'disproportionate persuasion'; he ultimately accepted the proposal.[12] Pressure was also brought to bear upon Christ Church College, Kanpur. A grant was offered if it hired a fourth European instructor. The SPG was unwilling to do this as it wished to maintain a more Indian-oriented teaching staff.[13]

The shaky financial foundations of the educational enterprise were also evinced in the numerous other ancillary aspects of the learning experience. Student hostels, themselves central to the educational enterprise, were one prime example. George Westcott tirelessly petitioned and worked to erect a hostel for Hindu and Muslim students during the 1890s. But by 1902 it was to no avail. This hostel, which was to be attached to the very school of which Westcott was headmaster, could not solicit grants for its construction costs. He expressed his 'regret at the Society's inability to aid in building a hostel for students at Cawnpore', which was only completed after years of fund-raising.[14] Rev. Henry Tubbs, of the CMS, wanted to open a hostel for Hindus and Muslims in Gorakhpur. But when the CMS could not give him any funds, he was actually forced to borrow £500 from a friend, whom he paid back after annual (and rare) surplus revenues from St Andrew's College.[15] Other school necessities were continually chasing cash. Andrew Birkett, working at the Lucknow high school, found his institution so strapped for cash that he even paid for new school buildings out of his own pocket.[16] Edward Heansley, teaching in Jabalpur, had to purchase Rs.100 worth of science equipment out of his own salary just to satisfy Departmental demands for efficiency.[17]

The severity and constraints of the penury of mission coffers was also witnessed in the manner in which funds were raised back in Britain. Much of this was related to issues of conversion. The home mission authorities may have been led initially to believe that the acceptance of Government money 'in no way interfered with the missionary objects of the school',[18] and that the state, as representative of a Christian nation, would not actively undermine their educational enterprise. However they were unable to comprehend the inherent difficulties, nuances and constraints which mission schools faced 'on the spot'. Mission benefactors were primarily concerned with ostentatious returns on their money in the way of converts. Teachers therefore had to dress-up and popularize their rhetoric, and to stretch the truth as much as they could. What teachers and principals told their home audience was often less informed by missionaries' own convictions and more by the need to secure their institutions' much-needed solvency. They often did this by claiming that their diligent work would, vaguely, 'bear fruit' in the future. When John Haythornwaite travelled to London to solicit funds for educational missions in north India, he was rebuffed by many an individual. In a veiled reference to its trickle of converts, he was told that the CMS was 'unable to do anything'[19] with his money. Rev. S. A. Barnett, an armchair commentator of foreign mission work, complained that monies from Church-goers were being used to enable students not only remain Hindus but to moreover gain Government posts at the home benefactors' expense.[20] Donors to the mission cause became increasingly parsimonious when it was felt that their money did not produce converts. They cared little for non-statistical progress, hostel work and the constructive religious engagement which were central to the educational enterprise. One missionary admitted that it was difficult justifying funds spent on hostels to his home audience,[21] whilst Henry Squires testified to the disjuncture between foreign education work and domestic financiers. He remarked that 'those who advocate missionary education most ardently are those who have [actually] engaged in it themselves'.[22]

Examinations and Assessment in the Decline of 'Religiosity'

It was not just general financial considerations which detracted from the effectiveness of missionary education. One important and moulding consequence of the enterprise's connection with Government was the role of examinations. Mission schools subjected themselves to the pressures of examination which they, as recipient of Government money, would inevitably become bound. This was significant, for it ensured that mission schools devoted more attention to the secular matters of examination rather than the religious and spiritual components they originally set out to propagate. Ironically, this was due to the inherent structure of the enterprise missions built up themselves; it undermined its own religiosity. This was another way in which both religiosity and Christianity were subsumed by larger forces over which missionaries had little control. From the onset, the Government connection had a greater effect than anyone could have anticipated.

Examinations were central due to the infrastructure of colonial education itself. They were set by the provincial Departments of Public Instruction and the universities. The former set the examinations and standards for levels of secondary and varying (though not all) levels of primary education. The latter set examinations for affiliated colleges and those wishing to either matriculate or stand for a university degree. The missionary educational enterprise was primarily focused on those receiving secondary and higher instruction. Mission schools therefore had to prepare their students for these very examinations over which, as we have seen, missionaries had little influence.

The pressures in preparing students for them were high and palpable. The United Provinces was an example of an overly-regulated and bureaucratic examination system. Assessments here were more numerous than in any other province. This encouraged cramming and left little time for religious and spiritual discourse. This was acutely recognized by the Indian government in Calcutta.[23] In fact, students in UP had to face six different sets of examinations before the age of twenty-one. This was higher than in any other province.[24] At Allahabad University, students were required to take two examination sets while at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras only one was required.[25] William Boutflower reported at the Simla Educational Conference (1901) that Allahabad covered more subjects than any other university, which put an unusual amount of pressure on its students.[26] This was even recognized by newspapers far away in both Madras and even Burma as not only excessive by Indian standards but also detrimental to students and their health.[27] There was an issue of pedagogical physiology: the health and biology of learning. These very examination pressures were so severe they even took a toll on students' health. Many instances were cited of students who had lost excessive amounts of weight during their schooling and suffered from serious malnutrition; half of all students developed short-sightedness.[28] Hindi and Urdu newspapers such as the *Rohilkand Gazette*, the *Anis-i-Hind* and the *Hindi Pradip* all cited examples of underweight, malnourished students who had lost their entire personality.[29] And to make matters worse, many students double-enrolled, taking both a degree and professional course, usually in law.[30] This exacerbated the already unhealthy lifestyles of many students.

The primacy of examinations ultimately encouraged schools to focus increasingly on secular subjects at the expense of religious ones. This affected the religious character of mission schools. Teachers spent so much time reviewing course material and the Gradgrind of administration, that Bible lessons, the distinguishing factor of mission schools, were steadily marginalized and even phased out. Many teachers and Indian observers took note of this. Preparations for examinations were called by the CMS 'an almost crushing burden',[31] whilst the *Indian People* newspaper in Allahabad observed that mission schoolteachers, as a result of their connection with government, were over-stretched and subsumed by secular work. The paper comically remarked that mission teachers had 'partialities for a plurality of offices'.[32]

Nearly all mission schools across the Gangetic plain and select parts of the Punjab and Bengal fell victim to this pressure. Some schools had to postpone Bible lessons and only give them occasionally. The Hindu hostel at Jai Narain's College had to cancel its Bible lessons repeatedly on account of preparing for examinations,[33] whilst LMS schools in the Murshidabad District rarely gave them consistently,[34] and other mission schools at most once per week.[35] At the CMS high school in Lucknow, John Ellwood reported that only thirty minutes of Bible instruction could be given to the entire school weekly,[36] only thirty minutes every other day in the Gorakhpur high school,[37] and infrequently at Christ Church College.[38] Religious instruction was even made optional at the Ghaziabad Middle School,[39] the CMS high school in Meerut,[40] the CMS School in Peshawar,[41] and the CMS high school in Lucknow.[42]

Other schools found themselves in similar situations in which Bible pedagogy, even if not cancelled outright, was administered according to economies of scale. This was significant, for it tended to detract from the very personal intercourse for which mission schools aimed. St John's College, for example, found it increasingly difficulty to give religious instruction regularly. Rev. James Carpenter, before the CMS Educational Subcommittee, confided that by 1908 there was in fact no regular, weekly Bible instruction given; any claims to the contrary were designed to attract badly-needed funds.[43] Bible teaching had become so cramped by regular coursework and preparations for examinations at St John's that it now had to be imparted to the entire school, in one giant auditorium, for thirty minutes daily.[44] Andrew Fraser admitted that 'too often we produce mere candidates for examinations',[45] and that mission teachers spent a good amount of time on bookkeeping, bureaucracy and even serving their students at tables.[46]

The effects of examinations upon mission schools' religiosity were also acknowledged by Government administrators and teachers. Roper Lethbridge, an instructor at Hooghly and Presidency Colleges, remarked that mission schools were Christian in name only and that he would be hard pressed to name a school which regularly gave an hour of Scripture teaching.[47] This was also evinced by

Departmental inspectors. One UP inspector, J. M. Tagore, frankly observed that Christian morality was not necessarily palpable and that 'the standard of morality and discipline there [mission schools] is not in any degree higher than in the Government or private schools ... the pupils of the missionaries are not found to be more orderly, respectful or obedient than the students of the schools conducted on secular principles'.[48] This reflected, partly, the limits of Christian influence in schools. The increasing absence of Biblical pedagogy had become so endemic that some Indian mission teachers were not even aware that Bible instruction was required when they took up their posts.[49]

There were also carrot and stick pressures which affected the demographic spirituality of these institutions. Departmental demands often forced schools to hire more European teachers than they wanted. Missionaries did not want nominal or agnostic European Christians as teachers, whereas the Department wanted more European staff on the grounds of 'efficiency'. This was another limit to the religiosity of the educational enterprise. It prevented schools from being as 'Christian' as they hoped, for not all Europeans in Government employment were keen evangelicals. In fact, many of them were decidedly hostile to any whiff of proselytization in classrooms and corridors. Rev F. Longman, headmaster of the LMS high school in Mirzapur, observed that the necessity of keeping pace with Government schools forced mission schools to hire more agnostic Europeans than they would like, rather than Indian Christians. And even though this was undesirable, he understood that they nevertheless had to go along with the times.[50] The CMS schools in Jabalpur, for instance, were staffed with what missionaries considered fine Indian workers. But in order to maintain the current grant they received – which covered nearly half of their annual expenses – they had to let them go and hire European teachers in their stead.[51] At the CMS high school in Basti, the Department pressured the school to hire another European teacher due to 'inefficiency', and tempted the school with an increased grant from Rs. 50 to 75 per month.[52] St Andrew's College also had its grant revoked for its refusal to hire more European staff – the College ultimately acquiesced in order to keep its very valuable grant.[53] It was trying to keep most of its Indian teachers, but the Department offered it a tempting Rs. 40,000 for new buildings and an annual grant of Rs. 1,000 if it hired three more Europeans.[54] St John's found itself in a similar situation. It wished to have predominately Indian Christians on its teaching staff, but their receipt of aid (as a first-rate BA College) was required by the Department to have four Europeans.[55] The problem, however, was that the CMS could simply not afford another European who would demand a salary of at least Rs. 150 per month; this was much more than the staff average of Rs. 30.[56] The grant which the CMS high school in Meerut received was reduced on similar grounds after pressure from the Department.[57]

There were other reasons why external examination pressure shaped the educational enterprise. Substandard marks or poor maintenance could financially jeopardize a school. In most cases pressure to achieve Departmental efficiency was paramount, for an inspector's report could either lessen or cancel a grant. In a way, the whims and fancies of an inspector could put a school in significant financial jeopardy. In a way, it was a payments-by-results system. Mission schools, as Andrew Fraser admitted, were 'bound by poverty to the Government grant'. He argued that even though mission schools had a clear agenda for their own aims, they 'scarcely ever had an educational policy of their own'.[58] Henry Durrant of the CMS understood that his schools were at the mercy of the Department and even suggested that the whole raison d'être of education should be questioned.[59] Rev. John Warren grudgingly observed that the Department and its bureaucratic network spread out across the Gangetic plain was 'most exacting in its demands and anything but generous in its grants'.[60]

These were all shortcomings of the educational enterprise which originated from external pressure. Internally, these schools were also limited in the methods of pedagogy they engendered. This can be seen in the role of memorization and Indian 'tradition', broadly-conceived. Brahmans, for example, usually attached great religious and cosmic value to the ability to recite from the Vedas. This was an embodiment of *dharma* and religious sanctity. Muslim students, likewise, held immense value in being able to recite from the Koran (and less so from the *Hadith*). Yet this inclination towards memorizing and recitation – itself engendered by the colonial education system itself – seems to have persevered and characterized students' interactions with their curricula. Rote memorization, partially an outcome of examination pressures, had come to dominate the character of the educational enterprise. Teachers praised their students for their fine and remarkable memories, but this often prevented students from comprehending and digesting much of the material that was to influence them. This encouraged students to learn via a 'surface approach',[61] which meant that students were routinely memorizing facts and figures, rather than critically engaging with the material being taught ('deep approach'). The latter, as suggested above,[62] was the requisite for the aims of mission pedagogy and spiritual discussion. This meant that even of the purported 'Christian' works of Spencer, Milton and Jane Austen were covered, they were not necessarily fully digested. Roper Lethbridge was one government teacher who, after many years experience, reported on this prevalent tendency. Students, he observed, learnt passages en bloc, and were usually unable to say much else about what they had read.[63] Examples within mission schools were common. One student found himself in a 'state of acute intellectual distress' when a moral maxim was found to be different between Miruvali's History of the Romans and Bacon's Essays; the student could not see that there was more to the lessons than the memorization of the passages.[64] At the Bulandeshahr

CMS School students answered questions, the headmaster observed, 'without any thought ... repeated too mechanically'.[65] And even if moral and religious dictums were memorised, this did not mean that they were necessarily understood. Henry Douglas sighed, observing that 'the Christianity thus achieved by rote is in almost every case of this parrot nature ... their consciences are removed from the knowledge which they ... utter'.[66] Indian students, another commentator observed, excelled in memorizing 'many valueless facts'[67] and following instructions to a par. These observations were accurate representation of the limits of pedagogic effectiveness. More significantly, these examples strongly suggest that pre-existing values attached to the art of recall and recitation were – if anything – continuing to function and shape students' educational experiences.

Shortcomings of Personal Influence: Demographic Realities and Pedagogy

On the surface, mission schools were popular and extensively sought after in northern India. Yet upon closer inspection it did not function effectively as either a missionary or a religious vehicle. The established requisite for such education to be effective as a Christian influence was absent. Specifically, the marked paucity of Christian teachers seriously hampered the efficacy of mission schools as religious institutions. Rather than being irrelevant to the impartation of knowledge, as Krishna Kumar has forcefully argued,[68] the efficacy of education was in fact determined by who taught it. Tenuous finances not only subjected schools to the forces of examination and made them strikingly secular, but also ensured that they were unable to employ the types of teachers necessary for their intentions. Missionary desires to make education more the purview of Indians, ironically, turned out to be true, but not in the manner which they expected. Missionary educationists ultimately failed to prepare an environment wherein the very purpose of their educational mission was to be realized. The demographic reality of mission schools, combined with the creeping pressures of secularization from the larger infrastructural connections with Government, allowed students to thwart its originators' intentions. Combined with the degree to which Indian social factors moulded them, schools' general attitudes of religious tolerance and, to a degree, theistic morality, were as much by-products as they were preconditions of the educational enterprise.

Demographics played a key part in detracting from the educational enterprise's religiosity. These institutions were handicapped as most teachers were either Hindu or Muslim. By contrast, and ironically, most Government schools and colleges had a higher percentage of Europeans and Christians on their teaching staff than mission schools. The famed Arya Samajist Lala Lajpat Rai argued that the Dayananda Anglo-Vedic College in Lahore (DAV) was distinguished from English and Anglo-vernacular schools by its teaching staff being entirely Indian.[69] Yet mission schools were not terribly different. Demographic realities and the subjection of schools to the vagaries of student temperament, in a way, put the educational enterprise more in the hand of Indians than Europeans. These schools, from one perspective, were more Indian than anything else. This was noted by one ICS officer Lewis Sinclair O'Malley, who reported after years of Indian experience that mission schools have not 'been such as to make the atmosphere essentially and sufficiently Christian'.[70] The CMS in 1888 already admitted the inefficacy and shortcomings of their own schools in this respect.[71] U. S. Rawat, an Indian convert,[72] and Rev. Henry Squire observed that Christian influence was thoroughly lacking in mission schools due to the dearth of Christian instructors.[73]

Hindus and Muslims dominated the ranks of schools. They composed around 90% of the teaching staff and worked for smaller salaries than Europeans and Indian Christians. Most mission schools had at least four Hindus and Muslims, with accompanying pundits, moulvies and numerous other assistants on their staff. European Christians were too expensive, whilst educated Indian converts tended to be dissatisfied with salaries equal to those of Hindus and Muslims. The CMS Educational Committee in 1902 observed that Indian Christians had higher expectations 'as to dress and expensive tastes ... the Christian teacher gets a higher pay only because he had a higher market value – the demand is greater than the supply'.[74] They usually had to be paid at least Rs. 80 per month, whilst Hindus and Muslims easily worked for Rs. 30 or less.[75] The UP Missionary Conference in 1906 addressed this very problem, and resolved to hire more European Christian teachers.[76] But at the same time it understood that it was financially impossible.[77] By 1910 one mission school in Banda was still without a Christian headmaster.[78] At the Dera Ismail Khan CMS high school, the CMS was unable to obtain a Christian headmaster for years since no Indian Christian would settle for less than Rs. 140 per month.[79] In 1880, there was even no resident missionary at Jai Narain's School in Banaras,[80] the Azamgarh high school[81] and at the CMS high school, Basti, where there was only a single Christian teacher. He was the Headmaster and could barely find time to teach Classes IX and X, leaving I through VIII to be taught by Hindus and Muslims.[82] This was significant as students were felt to be more impressionable in these lower classes

Table 13: Teacher demographics in select CMS mission schools: [83]

School	**Total**	**Christ.**	**Others**
St John's College	9	2	7
St Andrew's College	7	1	6
St John's AV School	24	7	17
High School, Azamgarh	15	6	9
__________, Basti	17	4	13
__________, Jai Narain's	28	8	20
__________, St Andrew's	19	3	16

School	**Total**	**Christ.**	**Others**
__________, Jaunpur (2)	16	3	13
__________, Agra Girls'	2	1	1
__________, Lucknow	17	4	13
__________, Meerut	18	5	13
Middle School, Agra (2)	12	4	8
___________, Sikanderabad	5	2	3
___________, Ayodhya	5	3	2
___________, Chunar	5	1	4
___________, Gorakhpur	16	3	13
___________, Ghaziabad	11	3	8
___________, Generalganj	16	4	12
Jai Narain's Free School	33	5	28
Total	305	69	236

Table 14: Teacher demographics in select LMS mission schools: [84]

School	**Total**	**Christ.**	**Others**
Ramsay College	32	2	30
College, Banaras	22	2	20
High School, Mirzapur	20	3	17
Total	74	7	67

Table 15: Teacher demographics in select SPG mission schools: [85]

School	**Total**	**Christ.**	**Others**
Christ Church College	14	4	10
Banda School	14	4	10
Total	28	8	20

In addition to the paucity of Christian teachers throughout the educational enterprise, the lack of fellow Christian pupils also detracted from the very 'influencing examples' of affective knowledge. Mission teachers found their schools lacked the influence of Christian pupils to serve as a motivation for religious speculation, spiritual curiosity and examples of 'Christian morality'. It was estimated that the ratio of Hindus and Muslims to Christian students, at the very most, was three to one.[86] Edward Hensley of the CMS comically reported that of all the 537 students at the CMS high school Jabalpur, he could account for all the Christian students with both his hands.[87] At the Bulandeshahr CMS School, there was but one Christian student amongst eighty-nine other students.[88] Even at the Oxford and Cambridge Hostel, which supposedly had a most 'conducive Christian' atmosphere, there were never more than two Christians at any given time compared to almost two hundred Hindus and Muslims.[89] The LMS high school in Banaras had a few Christian students amongst its two hundred.[90]

Table 16: Student demographics in select CMS mission schools: [91]

School	Total	Christ.	Others
Middle, Generalganj	225	1	224
Jai Narain's College	508	30	478
Azamgarh HS	106	4	102
Total	839	35	804

Table 17: Student demographics in select LMS mission schools: [92]

School	Total	Christ.	Others
High School, Mirzapur	365	6	359
High School, Banaras	389	23	366
Total	754	29	725

Table 18: Student demographics in select SPG mission schools: [93]

School	Total	Christ.	Others
Christ Church College	101	6	95
Rurkee College	194	58	136
Banda Mission School	198	14	184
Total	493	78	415

Not only were the staff of most mission schools bereft of Christian teachers, but they were also lacking a cogent and influential European presence. Their staffs were predominately composed of Indians, leaving much of the agency of instruction in the hands of the students' fellow countrymen. Europeans were usually outnumbered 80 or 100 to one. This was indicative of the degree to which the enterprise was in Indian hands. In fact the European and Christian staff of Central Hindu College, an ostentatiously Hindu institution, was greater than the entire number of those in the educational enterprise.[94] Indians were even headmasters at many mission schools. There were Hindu headmasters at the CMS Lal and Nahari schools,[95] the CMS high school in Azamgarh,[96] the LMS high school in Khagra,[97] Ramsay College until 1885,[98] Jai Narain's,[99] and the CMS high school in Lucknow,[100] the latter of which was without a single European missionary.[101] Even the entire staff of St Andrew's College, Gorakhpur, was Indian.[102] And at the same time, Indian Christians played a part in running mission schools. Most famously, St Stephen's College embarked on what was called a 'splendid and bold experiment' of making Sushil Rudra, an Indian convert, headmaster.[103] But this was only the tip of the iceberg, whilst Hindus frequently served as part-time headmasters to fill in for overworked teachers. Indian converts also ran the Jaunpur School[104] and, eventually, Ramsay College.[105]

Not only were the staffs of mission schools predominately Indian, but they were in charge of duties which were central to the *raison d'être* of mission schools. Bible lessons, controversially but reluctantly, were usually given by Hindus and Muslims. Ironically, these schools' religiosity was primarily in the hands of those to whom the pedagogy and religion was originally directed. There were countless examples of such. At the CMS high school in Gorakhpur, Rev. John Warren was so busy that he even hired a moulvie to give Bible lessons.[106] Prizes for scripture reading were normally awarded by Hindus – this was common at St John's,[107] the CMS high school in Lucknow,[108] and the Almora LMS high school.[109] The Sunday School of the LMS high school at Khagra was run by a Hindu pundit.[110] Ramsay College even had a Hindu, Mahish Sinha, administer the Bible lessons in 1885,[111] whilst at the St John's Hostel a Muslim student, Mohammed Hamid, gave Bible instruction and for a while even replaced Rev. John Partiger.[112]

Worldliness and Other-worldly Knowledge: the Relegation of Religion and Spirituality

Mission schools were, as we have seen, limited in their religiosity due to both internal and external infrastructural factors. Demographics and examinations in particular, stunted the efficacy of pedagogy. Yet there were other socio-religious factors which continued to shape the educational enterprise from within its classrooms and corridors. This had to do with student spirituality itself. Mission students rarely engaged in the spiritual and religious conversations which their headmasters and teachers hoped to foment. Teachers were particularly confounded by their students' strikingly secular and materialistic orientation. This is not to be overly-reductionist. Indian society certainly did bear witness to significant religious 'revivalist' movements such as the Arya Samaj and the Deoband School of Islamic thought. But most mission teachers found their students, in the classroom and immediate educational context, secular and worldly in outlook.

There was a common stereotype that students were exclusively focused on material gain and employment. UP Government officials, for example, regularly maintained that students had enough trouble 'paying attention to their own particular theologies'.[113] To a degree this was an accurate observation, though it deserves qualification. One main reason why mission schools witnessed little in the way of student religiosity was simply because Indians approached education pragmatically. For students, religion and spirituality often impeded their goals of graduation, degrees and jobs. Material considerations and educational qualifications therefore greatly (though not completely) coloured students' religious tendencies in class. Outside of class, though, these secular pressures did not always impede student religiosity. Students (primarily Hindu) were also able to reconcile materialism, spirituality and religion in ways which baffled these expatriates. This is not to suggest a degree of economic over-determinism. What mattered was not whether students were materialistic, but that there was a mismatch between the aims of mission schools and students.

This predicament was evinced by countless examples of teachers' encounters with student religiosity. Missionary schools' efforts to promote religious and spiritual discussion amongst their students usually amounted to naught. Edward Oakley of the LMS admitted the difficulties of engaging with higher Hinduism and his students, for they were, compared to most mission teachers, usually unfamiliar with the specifics of Hindu religious treatises such as the Bhagavad Gita, the Vedas and the Puranas.[114] The *Church Times* of Delhi remarked that the religious zeal of the Arya Samaj, for example, was upon more careful inspection non-existent in the United Provinces, which were 'agitated now and then by a little philosophy, but that is all'.[115] Robert Baker recalled an incident at the CMS high school in Lucknow. At the optional Sunday school, students came for but a few minutes and immediately asked about the *bakshish* (tip, gifts) in the form of free pens, paper and pencils which cost the school a good sum to provide.[116] Rev. John Maclean reasoned that this must be an enduring feature of Indian society's understanding of 'religion' and that Hindus were able to mix materialism with religion in ways which Christians could not. He reasoned that if most of Indian society had been relatively untouched by colonial rule and its effects, then it would be easy to explain why the apparent 'worldliness' of this part of Indian society was so prevalent. He reasoned that this could not have been introduced by English education and a creeping of global capitalism, but must have predated the British.[117] When Maclean arrived in India, his colleagues told him that main subjects of his conversations with students would be rupees, annas and pies.[118] William Holland told him that this is what most people would hear in the bazaars and in the streets,[119] and another SPG teacher wryly remarking that the 'rupee is always heard in every question and answer'.[120]

Many missionaries resigned themselves to re-evaluating the preconceived notions they held about the inherent spirituality and religiosity of India. For example, only one out of one hundred of William Holland's students consulted him on the Bible and religious questions.[121] Henry Durrant, after spending many years in Agra with his students, came to question the notion that India was a country of enlightened spirituality and nourishment compared with the worldly west

> before I came to India I pictured Indian students as either passionate opponents of Christianity and upholders of their own creed or else hungry and unsatisfied seekers after truth. The facts differ very widely from the picture. Very much as in England [*sic*], the prevailing attitude is of comparative indifference to religious matters altogether.[122]

George Westcott found that very few of his St Stephen's students approached him about spiritual matters, even though he was available for them.[123] Another LMS educationist mentioned that it was 'very irritating' to be lectured by uninformed home benefactors and armchair observers about the timeless spiritual traditions of India.[124]

Teachers were constantly baffled by what they perceived to be their students' relative indifference towards religious matters. They testified to the secular orientation of their students. William Holland, for example, remarked that schoolteachers would be hard-pressed to name a single student who had devoted their life to a spiritual mission or existence.[125] One headmaster of a CMS high school bitterly complained that not only were his classrooms overcrowded, effectively preventing adequate and more intimate religious instruction, but that his students were indifferent towards any form of religious speculation whatsoever.[126] He ultimately asked the CMS to let him go out of frustration with his work.[127] Another mission teacher argued that 'everywhere one feels that not Islam and not Hinduism are the chief hindrances to the spread of Christianity, but sheer selfish worldliness'.[128] As the years went by general interest in the Bible, the CMS wistfully admitted in its proceedings, diminished steadily.[129] Teachers were frustrated with their students' holistic philosophizing which prevented Fulfilment-inspired discourse on Christianity and Hinduism as religious systems per se. They characterized the classroom atmosphere as a 'strange and utter opaqueness in all spiritual concerns which characterises the student population'.[130]

Missionary frustrations did not mean, however, that students were necessarily irreligious. Hinduism already possessed a strong materialistic component, even at more ostentatious religious and spiritual affairs such as the *kumb mela*, which was able to integrate materialism within a larger rubric of religious devotion, pilgrimage and piety.[131] Mission teachers, however, wanted to separate the material from the spiritual as much as possible. Students generally attached a greater importance to Hinduism's outward observances and ritualistic aspects which were themselves tied into symbolic material considerations. This continually frustrated attempts to have students speculate on specific religious and theological matters at the expense of worldly concerns. There was, at heart, a fundamental difference between missionaries and students over their relationships between religion, materialism and spirituality. Hindus largely saw religion more as a ritualistic and philosophical ideal which itself was interwoven with symbolic materialism, whilst missionaries propagated an affective, somewhat anti-materialist and less-philosophical one. The famed Indian convert and teacher at St Stephen's, Sushil Rudra, for example, remarked on this mismatch. In a veiled response to armchair observers, he maintained that custom and ritual, not inquiry and speculation, defined student religiosity. Rudra characterized India's religious atmosphere as 'passive and conservative, rather than active ... it has its strength in custom rather than thought'.[132] He reported that the very atmosphere wherein missionary education was to flourish, one which was open and dominated by religious and spiritual speculation, and affective knowledge, was non-existent. Even though the educated classes were the most open to influence, they usually had no reason to jettison India's religious and social traditions in their entirety.[133] His colleague, George Westcott, also observed that comments on the spirituality of India were 'apt to mislead and to raise false hopes. The religious character referred to ... savours rather of religiosity, which is the importance that it attaches to outward observances, discourages rather than develops the inner, spiritual life'.[134]

One significant and moulding by-product of this existing material focus and spiritual mismatch was the manner in which they subjected schools to the vagaries of student temperament. This was another way in which Indian attitudes shaped the educational enterprise in spite of its seemingly dominating and intrusive infrastructure. Mission high schools and colleges perceived as unsuccessful – and as a hindrance to either students passing their examinations or their prospects of employment – suffered in reputation and faced dwindling enrolments. This should not be downplayed. Students were more preoccupied with their own socio-economic advancement and material gain, rather than probing questions of the spiritual and non-worldly. Mission schools' fees were, moreover, cheaper vis-à-vis Government schools and missionaries felt pressured to 'sell' and make their institutions as efficient and successful as possible. This was necessary in order to command student attention and secure an audience. All of this further detracted from the educational enterprise's religiosity. Mr. Coley of the LMS Almora high school, for example, admitted that since the demand for English education as a means to Government employment already existed, all missions could do was to meet it.[135] Coley saw missionary education as effectively residing the contours of larger market-driven forces. George Westcott reported that he had to continually 'divert his pupils [at St Stephen's] from their dreams of Government employment' in order to get their minds fixed upon spiritual matters,[136] whilst Rev. John Carpenter observed that schools 'will not attract men till we are able to hold out definite hopes and prospects for them at the end of their course'.[137]

This social moulding manifested itself through the enterprise's association with government and educational performance. Schools which had poor test results, or lost a government grant, suffered in reputation and legitimacy. Students and their families were keenly aware of the wider educational landscape and were able to keep abreast of schools' performance via Hindi and Urdu newspapers, bazaar networks of information and mission teachers themselves. Indians went where education was affordable and more likely to guarantee a 'pass' and future employment. In a way, Indian students and their families were keen shoppers in the sphere of market education. At the CMS UP Conference in March of 1909, this was the paramount concern. Rev. John Warren warned that 'unless these schools receive such grants they must eventually lose their High School standing' and legitimacy in Indian eyes.[138] It was admitted that 'were our institutions cut off entirely from our connection with Government they would probably lose in prestige and attractiveness for the scholars we most wish to secure'.[139] John Haythornwaite stated that 'so long as Mission Schools and Colleges maintain the necessary standard, there will be no difficulty in securing good attendance',[140] whilst Rev. A. E. Johnston of Jai Narain's College even 'hesitated to offer up at such times distinctively Christian prayers'.[141]

Some of this was overplayed anxiety, but it did accurately gauge the value which Indian students and families placed on the government connection. Missionary fears were indeed well founded. In some cases students did leave schools as a result of poor performance. Henry Gill observed that the other two high schools in Allahabad, the Anjuman Muslim School, and the Heetkari Sabha Hindu School, would quickly pinch students if their institutions did not achieve 'acceptable' examination marks.[142] Edwin Greaves and other missionary educationists were even 'badgered' in Kachwa if they failed to command the prestige of either Government or money – they ultimately lost not a few students from their high school.[143] At St John's in 1902-3, local residents boycotted the school and brought it to a virtual standstill, accusing it of failing to provide an 'open sesame' for Government employment.[144] One mission teacher was even booed out of his classroom, followed by a student demonstration which chanted that his incompetence would prevent them from earning their BAs and their livelihoods.[145] In the CMS high school at Ghaziabad, hostility arose to the regular Bible course when one student asked how it was to profit them in examinations.[146] Further upcountry, Rev. Worthington Jones in Peshawar failed to present a few pupils for examination and these students consequently left for another school.[147]

In some cases Indian demand effectively forced schools to open vocational courses. In 1904, for example, St John's opened a Business Department, partly in response to the demonstrations a few years prior. The headmaster, John Haythornwaite, felt compelled to provide his students with 'practical training for a clerical career'. This included English Dictation, Bookkeeping, Shorthand, and Typewriting, and thirty minutes of moral instruction. Less focus was given to the arts and humanities curriculum.[148] Otherwise, he admitted, the college would suffer in reputation and lose students to other Government, Islamic and Hindu institutions in Agra which held out better prospects of employment.[149] At one SPG school in Delhi, its predominately *bania* student body, seemingly fed up with its overly-heavy arts curriculum, induced their instructors to abandon the Government curriculum and introduce very 'traditional' and vocational *Mahajani* (shopkeeper, accounting) tables.[150]

Students were specifically preoccupied with obtaining the School Leaving Certificate (SLC). It was introduced by the UP Education Department in

1909 as a way to certify that students were proficient and had been instructed in particular courses of study. It was, more importantly, required in order to be considered for Government employment. A good many students, teachers and headmasters observed, attended mission schools for this reason alone. Many even passed up their BA course and sought to obtain the certificate instead. Rev. John Warrant acknowledged that the SLC was 'the goal of the majority of our students' ambition',[151] whilst his colleague Rev. William Ball observed similarly.[152] Rev. H. Lewis of the CMS, in fact, had to entitle his first term lecture: 'The Gospel of Jesus Christ not dependent upon circumstances for success'.[153]

This perception of student materialism and worldliness was not concocted by frustrated, disillusioned expatriates. Indians themselves testified to students' worldly concerns. Recent scholars have demonstrated that Hindus accommodated their religiosity and faith with materialism and worldly lifestyles in ways which Christian and 'secular and modern' Europe was unable to do.[154] This was mirrored within the wider educational enterprise in many instances. Most Indian students, the CMS Intelligencer reported, adhered to a 'shallow Voltaireism',[155] whilst one Hindu student confided to his teacher that he would pray to Jesus, but only so that he could pass his course and purchase a *bara makan* (large house).[156] One student of a mission school admitted to his headmaster that higher education was sought solely for what it would fetch in the market.[157] Even Annie Besant, the pioneer of Theosophy, wistfully observed that most of her students cared for material betterment rather than spiritual contemplation and regeneration.[158] Another missionary, who worked in a girls' high school, was told by one of her students that 'the Rupee has no caste'.[159] And when queried about religious and spiritual matters, some students replied 'go away, we don't want Providential interference; we are BAs and MAs'.[160]

This was reflected in the wider Hindi and Urdu north Indian press. The *Indian People* newspaper commented that missionaries should not delude themselves in thinking that students came to their schools for Christianity; they came for the practicalities of education, for which, it argued, 'much credit is due to the missionaries'.[161] The editor of the *Jasus* newspaper observed that students chose missionary schools because they were usually cheaper than those of the Government, and that they essentially tolerated Bible instruction.[162] The *Hindustani* and *Tohfar-i-Hind* both echoed this.[163] And according to the editor of *Sri Raghavendra*, missionaries were wasting their time trying to spiritually engage with Hindus, since, it argued, they were 'unable to bear the yoke of their own religion; they can hardly be expected to like that of any other's religion'.[164] Bhudev Mukhopadhyaya, Inspector of Schools in the Azamgarh District, observed that education's popularity stemmed not from desire for general, enlightening, humanistic knowledge, but for appointments as *patwaris* (village land accountant) and punditships.[165] Mukhopadhyaya cited a secondary desire to please the revenue authorities and, lastly, a vague hope for some sort of resultant, moral good.[166] More influential Indian figures echoed this reality. The famous Parsi social reformer Malabari admitted that the educated classes were simply not interested in religion, let alone the Shastras,[167] whilst Lala Lajpat Rai bluntly admitted that most Indians, particularly students, 'do not care a brass farthing for religion'.[168]

The secular and materialist focus of education, importantly, was also reflected at a much wider level. This was indicative of the contours of the socio-religious landscape with which not only mission schools, but also those of the Arya Samaj, had to deal. If the Swami Saraswati's revivalist Samaj and other similar organizations were ineffective in reaching their pupils in this regard, then mission societies possessed an even greater handicap. The 1882 Education Commission reported that indigenous Hindu schools – *tols*, *pathshalas* and *gurukuls* – were usually secular and vocational in practice rather than religious.[169] One English-educated Indian convert claimed that it was not just English-educated Indians who were secular, but also Hindu revivalists and Theosophists. Their rhetoric was only skin deep, and that they were stoutly secular. He also argued that Indians were not religiously conservative, but religiously indifferent.[170] Even the Hindu Educational Conference in 1912 passed a resolution to promote moral over religious instruction in school.[171] And the Arya Samaj's Jamna Prasad School in Ludhiana, after many years, still did not have a single taker of Sanskrit and Hindi which – its students claimed – wouldn't materially improve their situations.[172]

Another equally significant reason why the educational enterprise increasingly acquired a secular gloss was due to Indian educational initiatives. More specifically, they were defined by their lack of religious orientation. These were, it must be stressed, instructive. Schools initiated by Maharajas and holy men utilized the educational enterprise to administer them. The Female Normal School at Banaras, for instance, was founded by the Maharaja of Vizanagram. Started as a Government school, it was predominately run by Zenana women, whilst the Maharaja provided the bulk of the administrative expenses. He approached the CMS and asked them to allow women to teach in Zenanas, which implied Bible teaching. However, this was refused by the Maharaja, and not only was the Bible disallowed, but also the Vedas and the *Upanishads*.[173] The Maharaja clearly saw religious pedagogy as inconsistent with his idea of a modernizing women's education.[174] This was a striking example of secular Indian approaches towards pedagogy. When groups such as the Arya Samaj, for example, criticized the Government for giving money to Christian organizations, an Indian teacher at Hindu College was quick to point out that true religious neutrality was observed.[175] The *Central Hindu College Magazine* reported that teachers were free to introduce religion when they pleased. It further argued that it was not only good that Government kept out but also that Indian educational undertakings were largely secular.[176]

There were other examples which underscored the more secular leanings of English-educated Indian society. This can be seen in the trial-run of religious education introduced by the UP government after 1896.[177] When it was introduced, students predominately availed themselves of secular tuition. One student in particular, Kumar Kirtyananda Sinha, at Muir Central College, availed himself of the opportunity to seek out-of-classroom instruction not in the Vedas or the Puranas, but in English and Maths; he even offered to pay above and beyond normal school fees.[178] Mohammed Abbas Khan, a student from Pratapgarh, continually sent appeals over the head of the UP Government and directly asked Calcutta for help with learning English so that he could secure a Government post. There was no mention of religion in his numerous appeals,[179] and such petitions were by no means rare. The Indian Government tended to receive about four or five similar petitions monthly which made their way up through the sinews of provincial bureaucracies.[180] The Indian Government had begun to receive so many, and after two particular ones from Kisharlal Hara Lal Mehta and Dargushankar Arundran Pandia requesting similar assistance, it could no longer acknowledge their receipt.[181]

This pragmatic engagement with education was not, however, limited to just Hindus and Muslims. It transcended caste and religious community. Even English-educated Indian Christians were more concerned with finding Government jobs, rather than serving the mission. As European Christian teachers were already rare, it was hoped that Indian Christians could fill this role. But not only did they find this impossible, but educated converts, already rare, passed up mission work in favour of more highly-paid positions; most declined to enter into the service of the CMS, LMS and SPG. The posts they were offered paid too poorly, leading Gill to remark that 'no doubt one deterrent cause is the sight of experienced faithful agents ... inadequately provided with the necessities of life and struggling to maintain their position and educate their children with great difficulty'.[182] Edward Oakley observed that he knew of not a single instance where an educated convert who went into the service of the Church. Most converts, even if they failed to secure Government employment, refused work in the mission.[183]

Theism in Indian 'Tradition': Morals and Refashioning

There was, as we have seen, an undoubtedly secular and materialist orientation amongst Indian students which helped rotate the axis of the educational enterprise. What most teachers particularly noticed was their students' attachment to ritual aspects of religion. Yet most mission students did not wholly eschew religiosity and spirituality. It was far more complex than this. Indian society did display signs of religious revival and confrontation during the latter nineteenth century, but it also displayed a tolerant and theistic religiosity. This was no less important than the calls of 'back to the Vedas' and reformist Islam at Deoband. Upon closer inspection, students were not simply concerned with jobs and money. Sir Alfred Croft may have claimed that the theistic morality of the Brahmo Samaj failed to 'touch the fringe of educated Hinduism'.[184] Yet most teachers found their pupils to possess a rather holistic form of theist spirituality. As outlined above,[185] most mission students came from a social cadre which was, on the whole, more likely to engage and engender theistic moralities. A detailed look at the moralities espoused by these students and other popular figures demonstrates that it was rather common in the corridors and classrooms of the educational enterprise, and that the latitudinarian theism of the Brahmo Samaj[186] was not necessarily limited to Bengal. In was rather commonplace up-country. This was one way in which Indians themselves instructively made these institutions more secular than evangelicals would have liked. This theism was also emblematic of the ways in which Indians were able to selectively absorb what they saw as best in mission education and Christianity and eschew what they disliked. This was significant for two reasons. First, it was a testament to both Indian adaptability and the limits of the educational enterprise. The flexibility inherent in such a spiritual *weltanschauung* largely enabled students to reconcile their desires for material improvement and educational qualifications with other-worldly concerns. Secondly, missionaries wanted to engage with this tendency towards theism, but often could do little to control it. Ironically, this original theistic focus had the effect of undermining the larger aims of the educational enterprise itself.

Instructors and Indian observers noted students' theistic proclivities. They could be 'religiously eclectic' yet still maintain their larger umbrella Hindu identity. Students in Scottish schools in western India, for example, formed the very theistic Society of the Supreme Being.[187] This tendency was reflected similarly in north India within the educational enterprise, and can be seen in both missionary treatises and interactions in schools. One of Edward Oakley's students at Ramsay College told him that he had taken up the position of a pure theist, since it was 'the real position of all enlightened and educated men'.[188] Oakley was pleased that his students had come to a more 'refined' understanding of God, but, frustratingly, they never eschewed their Hindu identity. One UP education official confided that Hindu students in the schools littered across the 'heartland of Hinduism' paid more attention to the theism of the Brahmo Samaj rather than orthodox pundits.[189] William Holland's students offer an instructive example. Current and former hostellers formed their own Church-cum-temple and called it the 'Church of One God'. It was inundated with a theist ambiance and offered prayers to God as the Supreme Being, and was attended by Hindus, Muslims and Indian Christians.[190] This complicated and frustrated Holland's attempts to use a theistic prism as a stepping stone to Christianity. Sometimes this engendering of theism even led to an espousal of more general, non-religious and humanistic moralities. Former mission schools pupils admitted to their CMS school headmaster that the Bible lessons were not so much religious lessons per se but were 'much good sense and much good literature'[191] rather than actual religious pedagogy. This was indicative of both the holistic spirituality students possessed and the degree to which it was engendered within classrooms and corridors. One Hindu parent confided to Rev. John Hewlett that the LMS College in Banaras should be lauded not for its theology, but for its moral and humanistic tone. This met the father's approval and, as Hewlett reported, was a major factor in sending his son to the mission college.[192]

The enterprise also became increasingly secular due to Indian interpretations of Christianity itself. These, combined with Indian educational initiatives, were reflected in the dynamics of the educational enterprise. When it came to theologies, one Brahman Educational Inspector confided to a missionary that the general humanistic and moral lessons of the Gospel were beneficial. Most Indians, he reported, wanted neither Christian theologies nor those of any other Hindu sect – but they were happy to learn from the Gospel's moral lessons.[193] When the Hindu hostel at Jai Narain's College in Banaras had to cancel its Bible lessons due to examination preparations, its seventeen lodgers petitioned. They had the lessons re-instated not for its theological lessons, but for its general moral ones.[194] Another mission teacher observed that his students regarded Bible teaching 'as of immense moral value for mankind'.[195] Others Indians noted similarly and attested to the general moral influences of mission schools. A Brahman judge in Agra told people in his district that 'if you want your sons to become upright and noble men, let your sons study the Bible; they need not become Christians'.[196] He later went on to regularly give money to a CMS school for their 'moral instruction' which he cited as beneficial to the community.[197] This was itself a striking example of the resilience and adaptability of Indian moralities and religious-philosophical systems. One north Indian Hindi newspaper lauded mission schools for their 'character benefits' and humanistic philosophy.[198] And even Gopal Krishna Gokhale confided the degree to which mission schools were being remoulded into a more morally holistic light. He argued that mission schools propagated a cosmopolitan morality and humanism which could serve India as a nation.[199] These were all examples of how the educational enterprise was becoming increasingly less Christian and, as a consequence, more secular and holistic in its character.

Indian and Missionary Reproductions: Educational Expansion and Social Shapers

Thus far, we have seen that the infrastructure of education was shaky and far from conducive towards evangelical interests, spirituality and religiosity. Yet what actually moved this infrastructure beneath the surface was significant and instructive. The expansion of missionary education towards the end of the nineteenth century was not a process dictated by Europeans and missionaries alone. Indian society played an instructive role in sustaining and expanding the educational enterprise. For mission schools, Indian demand for instruction was indispensable. Indians sometimes expanded pedagogy more so than educationists themselves, by petitioning for schools, offering their teaching services, providing the money to underwrite new institutions and courses. Ironically, they were greatly responsible for granting the access to students which Anglican missionaries sought. Mission schools and their educational activities relied on the patronage of Indian elites, both urban and rural. Indian initiatives pushed the boundaries of pedagogy as much as Europeans themselves and their purported desires to 'uplift' and 'civilize'. Education proved immensely popular with families and students, who quickly saw it as a form of welfare and possible social advancement which the colonial state had largely failed to provide. Parents disliked their more religiously ostentatious goals, but in most cases there was little antagonism towards mission schools and the moralities they imparted.

At the same time, however, the enterprises' ethoses tended to defend the pre-existing dominance of learned groups who gave legitimacy to the utility of education by utilizing the rhetoric of modernity and progress. This section requires particular, detailed attention to address the acute demand for education, which had become so marked that Sayyid Ahmad Khan wryly remarked that such schools spread 'like bad rashes'.[200] Rather than serving as curious outposts of a bizarre and self-contradictory religion, mission schools were supported by Indian elites who understood their valuable social and moral utility. This did much to belie both Henry Cotton's claim that in north India hostility towards missionaries was on the rise[201] and Roper Lethbridge's comment that schools' innate 'proselytising aspirations' would be resented by Hindus and Muslims.[202] There was a degree of hostility towards missionaries in late colonial India,[203] but upon a more careful analysis of the historical evidence, it was qualified.

Here it is helpful to engage with the theories of educational sociology, primarily the work of Pierre Bourdieu. He has famously argued that education represents both the power and authority of the ruling elite and attempts to control society and exert power according to such ethoses.[204] In effect, education reproduces society's dominant, elite, ruling ethoses. This is a useful tool and whilst it offers an insightful perspective into understanding the social and political dynamics of education, its applicability to the Indian case is more complex. At first glance, colonial education seemed to reproduce the anglicising prerogatives of Macaulay and, in a more truncated form, of the Raj. In north India, however, the reliance upon Indian society to fill mission schools, combined with the striking demand for English education, irrevocably complicated and contested the attempts to reproduce the Anglicizing template of English education. In the Indian sense it was a qualified reproduction, and not just the seemingly dominating Anglicizing agenda envisioned by Macaulay's generation. These schools tended to reproduce Indian ethoses as often as they did British and Christian ones.

One main reason why the enterprise's reproductive tendencies were qualified had to do with patronage. *Malik*s (village headmen), *chaukidar*s (village watchmen), Indian royals and holy men supported these numerous institutions. Mission schools relied upon this patronage to keep their institutions afloat. Indians had, historically, supported educational initiatives through networks of local patronage, subscriptions and support,[205] and since the enterprise was not fully dependent upon public coffers, they demonstrated similar (though by no means exact) levels of support for these mission schools. There were countless examples of how Indian princes sustained the enterprise. The LMS College at Banaras, for example, was endowed with an annual grant of Rs. 120 by the city's Maharaja,[206] whilst Ramsay College in Almora was supported with annual subscriptions by the Raja of Teri and Garhwal,[207] and was lent land by the late Raja Bhem Sinha when Government declined to provide assistance.[208] A Raja from Agra, Chaudari Amar Singh, gave the CMS thirteen acres of land for the site of a Christian hostel, whilst a local Zamindar had a high school built at Pali (in Bulandeshahr) to be given over to the CMS with along with a 'sum of money' for its upkeep.[209] The Raja of Pali gave money to the CMS to erect a boys' school on his estate and guaranteed an annual donation for its upkeep.[210] The Raja of Shivapur paid a visit to Muttra in February of 1910. A devout Hindu, he called for all the women in the area to his audience; some 600 to 700 gathered. The Raja asked them to provide as many female teachers as possible for a CMS school, which he planned to permanently endow and pay the costs of the building and the headmaster's salary.[211] The Raja equated rising literacy with both Hindu morality and progress, and he beseeched husbands and wives to teach others to read and write, and paid for the required salaries and costs.[212]

Pundits, holy men and landlords (*zamindar*s) also supported the educational enterprise and dispensed a significant amount of patronage. Men of land and letter supported these institutions knowing that students would extract a moral benefit and not a religious-cum-theological one. Pundit Badu Datt Joshi of Almora, for example, helped fund the LMS Ramsay College[213] whilst another pundit in a neighbouring village helped found a new school. As the local mission teacher reported: 'if it were not for the[ir] influence, the school could not possibly exist'.[214] In Pali, again, a ground of influential Zamindars pooled their money together to construct an Anglo-vernacular high school to be bequeathed to the CMS.[215] And in Bilaspur, a school which had been opened by local Brahmins for *gujar* (descendants of aristocratic clans, mostly Brahman and Kshatriya) children had its management handed over to the CMS,[216] whilst nearby an affluent Brahman doctor asked the CMS to open a girls school and offered a contribution towards its start-up costs.[217] Other social groups supported the enterprise. In Agra, a group of Kayasthas took the initiative to run and manage their own schools, some of which later came under mission management at the request of the *kayastha sabhas* (Kayastha societies) themselves,[218] which were proliferating across north India during the latter nineteenth century.[219] Many mission schools in Delhi, for example, were supported during the 1860s and 70s by people such as Channa Mal. Reputably one of the city's wealthiest inhabitants and of a Mahajan background, he funded the complete construction of a house for SPG Zenana teachers.[220]

Local governments and municipalities, themselves with a sizeable number of Indians on them by the end of the nineteenth century, also funded and encouraged the growth of mission schools. Once inside the sinews of municipal and legislative councils, they utilized the networks of government aid and patronage to support the educational enterprise. Various CMS schools in Jabalpur, for instance, were praised by the local Municipal Council's Indian members and increasingly given pecuniary aid on the ground of 'public benefit'.[221] The Indian members of the Municipal Council in Meerut overwhelmingly supported an increased grant to the CMS high school,[222] and a former student at St John's, who became a member of the UP Legislative Council, had the College's annual grant increased yearly.[223]

The demand for education not only came from pundits, rajas and zamindars, but also from the middling and less-elite orders of local rural communities, village chieftains and petty rural shopkeepers. Agarwal families were often patrons of such schools, combining patronage of education with religious and spiritual piety. This, often enough, overwhelmed these thinly-spread missionaries. In Khurja, for instance, local Jains built an orphanage to give children elementary instruction. They then asked the Rev. J. Bannerjee, of the CMS, to take over its administration and faculty,[224] whilst the CMS also constructed and ran a primary school for boys due to local demand from villagers in Ayodhya.[225] One village *thakurani* (head woman) begged Rev. S. Susunkar to open a mission school for her two daughters, and offered her services as a teacher, even at a reduced salary.[226] St John's College was near to financial extinction back in 1884, when the UP Government proposed to withdraw its grant. Both Hindus and Muslims in Agra petitioned to the Government not to strip away its grant, even though the secular Agra College could already supply their educational needs.[227] The CMS orphanage in Gorakhpur was inadvertently turned into a girls Anglo-vernacular school due to local pressure and demand;[228] local villagers petitioned the CMS to open an English school in Kakori and were asked to serve as managers.[229] In Pilkhua, local pressure forced the CMS to open a few primary schools, at the request of local residents,[230] whilst the LMS was given Rs. 6,000 for the erection of new high school buildings by locals in Mirzapur,[231] and found its pre-existing mission high school more popular than the Government one.[232] In villages around Sultanpur, a English-educated Muslim doctor asked Rev. Qualandar to open a mission school for his neighbours.[233] And when Ramsay College was near financial extinction in 1914, local residents managed to raise Rs. 8,000 (£400) to keep it afloat and upgrade it to the BA standard. This secured its affiliation to Allahabad University that very year.[234]

These were all examples of how Indians led the demand for education and often underwrote both existing and new institutions. Yet there were instructive social and caste-oriented reasons for this. Since a degree of power naturally comes from the drawers of the till, Indians themselves exercised a particular amount of influence over these haphazard institutions and moulded the cultural and social ethoses they engendered. One of the main reasons these institutions were supported, apart from their more-than-evident inability to convert students, was because they reproduced pre-existing occupational, caste and social distinctions. Here, again, Bourdieu's reproductive template offers useful insight. The rhetoric of morality and religious-pluralism clouded Indian desires to reproduce their own social distinctions, especially when zamindars, pundits and rajas served as patrons of 'progressive' and 'modern' institutions.

Both as a by-product and a precondition of this patronage, Indians reproduced high caste and socially-elite ethoses through the medium of English education. It became a marker of social respectability, and Indians utilized it as a means to enhance their own social positions and caste standings at both the *jati* and *varna* level. Importantly, Indian students in mission schools were overwhelmingly from communities with pre-existing traditions of learning, such as Brahmans, Kayasthas and shopkeepers with lesser-literacy traditions. One mission teacher remarked that most of his students were 'sons of gentlemen and shopkeepers'; many of these were *lokika* Brahmans (those engaged in non-priestly vocations)[235] and writing families. They were, certainly, joined by a higher percentage of Muslims and low-caste students (such as *chamar*s and *bhangi*s) than in Government institutions.[236] But, in the end, the patronage and direction of mission education, and its reproductive efforts, were led largely by privileged, literate and gentry-service groups in Indian society.

There was another reason which explains why the educational enterprise (and English education on the whole) was defined by these ethoses. This had to do with aesthetics. This was, in part, a spiritual matter. There were similarities, on the surface, between English education – with its heavy emphasis on the arts and non-vocational training – and indigenous understandings of pedagogical purity. Traditional Brahmanical education and training, for instance, was predominately non-vocational and focused on the shastras, Hindu lore and the astral sciences.[237] Although different in terms of content, the non-vocational aspects of this pedagogy were somewhat similar to the overly-heavy arts curriculum of colonial English education, in the sense it did not teach practical skills such as shop-keeping and commerce. There was, in part, a slight degree of continuity. Kayasthas – who were particularly dominant in the eastern Gangetic plain and Bihar – encountered little difference between the arts-based character of English education and the state employment they performed under the Mughal regime and its successor regional states.[238] They seem to have made the transition from an Islamized Indo-Persian gentry class to English-trained bureaucrats relatively seamlessly, re-employing their skills in accountancy, book-keeping and surveying for their new colonial masters. Many Brahmans, moreover, admitted that they saw little serious rupture in the transition from non-vocational learning to that of the arts curriculum and bureaucratic training of English education , save the introduction of western forms of knowledge.[239]

Perhaps the best reflections of the enterprise's tendency to reproduce socially elite values, norms and ethoses are seen in matrimonial advertisements. By the latter nineteenth century, these advertisements, which proliferated with the vast expansion of the lithograph and vernacular press after the 1830s and 1840s,[240] were increasingly punctuated with 'educational qualifications' as criteria in the search for suitable and 'respectable' partners. Educational qualifications could add to and enhance a family's *izzat* (honour). These sentiments were found in newspapers such as the *Istibar*, *Anis-i-Hind* and the *Brahman Samachar*. This, to a degree, reaffirmed and perpetuated caste and social distinction

> wanted – a match for a girl of eight. Caste: Saraswat Brahmin. She can read and write Hindi, and her father holds a respectable post under Government. The boy must have at least passed the entrance examination.[241]
>
> A match for a very healthy, wealthy, intelligent, handsome, educated youth of twenty-one with an income of 51,000 Rupees per year, and a Hindu of high class. The girl should be very beautiful, middle-sized, and aged about fifteen years. She should at least have acquired preliminary education.[242]
>
> MATRIMONIAL WANTED: Young Husband, Fair, independent person, real reform spirit, to marry accomplished Iyengar Virgin Widow of 15 and one half. Minimum conditions: School Final Pass and some property, or Graduate.[243]

The educational enterprise reproduced and employed these ethoses to such a degree that there were backlashes against its more egalitarian tendencies. Hindi and Urdu newspapers, for example, criticized the educational system set up by the British when it allowed social mobility amongst low-caste groups and their presence in the same classrooms as Brahmans and other *dvija* ('twice-born', or 'caste') Hindus. The *Istibar* of Rae Bareli, for example, ascribed Indian students' political and social unrest to the impartation of knowledge to unworthy persons – mainly communities who never had a tradition of learning.[244] Between the mid-1870s and 1920s, editors of the *Anis-i-Hind, Riaz-ul-Akhbar, Bharat Jivan, Nur-ul-Anwar, Brahman Samachar, Saharapur*, and *Istibar* newspapers all decried the indiscriminate reach of mass English education. They wrote that respectable castes now had much to fear for the fact that social mobility was now higher than ever.[245] The editor of the *Anjuman-i-Hind* even bluntly argued that it was 'very disagreeable to persons of high castes to appear as suitors or *vakils* [legal servant; advocate] before a low-caste judge, or to place their sons under the instruction of a low-caste schoolmaster. Government should regard the feelings of the people and exclude the lower classes from schools'.[246]

Missionaries themselves, notwithstanding their rhetoric of egalitarianism within a rubric of Christianity, found that their schools inevitably tended to reproduce these pre-existing social ethoses. This demand for instruction brought, in turn, existing notions of purity and social order along with them into classrooms, courtyards and corridors. These were particularly manifested in the ways in which schools dealt with caste relations. This was significant for two reasons. First, there was little teachers and principals could do to challenge the caste system, and secondly, this was another example of how schools had to work with the grain of Indian society. When the manager of a mission school in the Jabalpur District admitted two untouchable pupils, his entire staff and student body left and founded a new school just down the road within months.[247] It even went on to receive Government grants as an aided school.[248] One St Stephen's instructor observed that Indian converts to Christianity, instead of breaking down the barriers of caste, were looked upon as their own unique *jati* within their pre-conversion *varna*.[249] This did little to vindicate the dreams of missionaries of the previous generation that Christianity would destroy caste. Bishop Whitehead, as we have seen, lectured students in Patna on the 'Brotherhood of Man'. After twenty minutes he realized that his audience believed that he was referring to Indian and European relations. This elicited numerous cheers and applauses. But once he started to talk of caste relations, the rest of the speech was received in cold, deadening silence.[250]

The demand for mission education was striking and did much to guide the enterprise. This was reflected in the way in which the enterprise itself became overstretched to near breaking point and collapse. Schools were overcrowded and admission to some unduly selective. The Oxford and Cambridge Hostel was an institution which was guided by the pulse of Indian society. At its largest, the hostel held over one hundred students, most of whom were enrolled at the government-run Muir College. Upon its opening in its custom-made buildings, an eclectic mix of Islamic, Persian and Gothic architecture, it received eighty applications for sixteen vacancies[251] and unabated demands for extra accommodation. Five years later 170 students applied for fifty vacancies;[252] this increased even more the following two years.[253] William Holland theatrically remarked that the hostel was being 'besieged', and he was unable to spend adequate time with all his lodgers.[254] Holland had so many students who wanted instruction that they just walked into his classroom as if, he comically remarked, they were checking into a hotel.[255] This was also seen in the popularity of particular mission schools compared to government institutions. Some CMS schools in Calcutta, which charged higher fees than Presidency College, each received three times as many applicants per place than its Government counterpart.[256] The Gorakhpur CMS high school closed for the purposes of a Hindu *mela*, but the students protested and demanded that they receive instruction; they persuaded the Principal to reopen the school for classes.[257] The increase of this high school's enrolment from 400 to 537 in the few years later 1898 was due entirely to local demand; this forced Mr. Gill to overcrowd his classrooms and accept more students than for which he had room; students sat on the floor when there were not enough desks.[258] The CMS middle school in Azamgarh, in the autumn of 1910, was temporarily shut down due to pressure from the Arya Samaj, who circulated rumours that the school would convert all of their children. But once this had passed, local demand exploded, with many requesting that more CMS schools be opened.[259] A similar situation took place amongst the other CMS schools in Meerut.[260] Enrolment at St Stephen's doubled in the course of a decade, largely due to requests from Delhi's residents.[261] It was one of the better-endowed mission schools, but it felt the pressures of demand nonetheless.[262]

Competition and Market Education: Indian Society and Challenges to Missionary Dominance

At one level, as we have seen, the demand for schools was very much responsible for the expansion and popularity of missionary education, with Indians themselves playing an integral role. But at another level, Indians were already challenging the enterprise. They were able to found new schools and institutions, and were not necessarily innocent victims of polemics and intrusive colonial infrastructures. Indians were intensely alert and active to the utility of western education, and pioneered their own schools. Parsis in Bombay, for example, had been active supporters of education in western India and established their own networks and corporations of patronage, learning and institutions centred around a common educational experience.[263] The Arya Samaj, as Carey Watt[264] has recently and forcefully demonstrated, was also actively founding schools and soliciting funds to supplement the grants they received from government. They too were working within the ambit of market education. It was likely the strongest indigenous educational agency in north India. The Samaj was already establishing schools across north India by the 1890s and was challenging the institutional dominance of government and government-aided schools.[265] These organizations were expanding the frontiers of pedagogy as much as missionaries themselves, and were sometimes even doing more than government. This meant, more significantly, that mission schools would have to come to terms with and compete against these new and better-endowed institutions. Hindus in particular were able to raise larger amounts of capital and out-compete these Anglican mission schools. Local communities of piety, knowledge and learning were able to tap into and mobilize greater resources of funds and subscriptions which were out of reach to both government and missionaries. This was ultimately a result of market education, which introduced (unofficially) competition amongst different societies and communities.

Indian society was able to hold its own against missionary educational initiatives. They were able to compete with and draw students away from these poorly-endowed and financially-shaky Anglican mission schools. Most teachers were aware of this acute competition, particularly from the Arya Samaj. One mission teacher wistfully sighed that 'we must go forward somehow, or else lose our boys through the competition of other schools'.[266] In Meerut, for instance, the Arya Samaj built a rival youth hostel to the CMS high school, and managed to draw away 130 students in a single year.[267] The decrease in the numbers at the CMS Azamgarh high schools between 1896 and 1898 and the school in Fatehganj[268] were, missionaries reported, directly attributed to the founding and quick expansion of a competing Muslim and Hindu high schools in the area.[269] There were four other Hindu schools in direct competition with the CMS in Banaras by 1899 and they were taking students from the CMS Jai Narain's College. Its enrolment fell yearly, and this was attributed to better endowed Hindu schools which charged lower fees and commanded larger amounts of patronage.[270] Mr. Bennertz, testifying before the CMS Educational Subcommittee, reported that competition was forcing Jai Narain's students to leave for the Central Hindu College.[271] The Oxford and Cambridge Hostel in Allahabad had struck such a cord with local Hindus that they started their own rival hostel within one year. Even though the CMS hostel was not yet up and running, the idea prompted locals to establish their own. The CMS raised Rs. 13,644 for their prized possession, whilst locals conjured up Rs. 70,000, obtained a grant of Rs. 20,000, and hired 200 men.[272] These were all examples of how the structures of education were being constantly moulded and altered by both Indian society via market education, and how mission teachers were often enough catching up rather than leading the way.

Conclusion

One major argument throughout this chapter has been that the educational enterprise was tenuous, friable and highly subject to both Indian forces and market-based competition. It rested on shaky foundations which were highly dependent upon the vicissitudes of both financial penury and personal influence. From one perspective, the enterprise exercised little in the way of dominance and was contested within by Indians. These schools failed to influence their pupils because of the palpable pressures enforced upon them by the educational bureaucracy. The paucity of Christian teachers and fellow pupils guaranteed that the requisite atmosphere for religious discussions and concomitant influence was absent. Considering all of this, missionaries possessed neither a monopoly of their enterprise nor the ability to change it. All these factors had the effect of secularizing mission schools and hostels – that is, they were less defined by their religiosity. Most of the students teachers encountered were markedly theistic, flexible and holistic in their moralities. This did just as much to thwart the missionary agenda as did Departmental demands for 'efficiency'. Indians, for their part, were intensely alert to the advantages of English education. They patronized and undertook educational initiatives, rather than needing to be convinced that education invariably led to 'progress'. One significant by-product of this Indian engagement was that schools and hostels tended to reproduce the social ethoses and norms of their students. This was one way in which Indians reoriented the educational enterprise from within. The impartation of knowledge, as hitherto seen, was more likely to vitiate religiosity rather than supplant it with a new one. Yet students still had to interact with their curricula of Newtonian science, Baconian empiricism, Copernican astral sciences, modern European cartography and English literature – all of which had the theoretical potential to jaundice 'traditional' Puranic Hindu beliefs, dogma and sacred geography. The following chapter will develop this theme further by exploring the actual reception of western religious and secular knowledge (and the relationship between the two) as a means of assessing the impact of education. In doing so it will lay the groundwork for the latter chapters which link together knowledge, pedagogy and Indian patriotism.

5 RELIGIOUS INTERACTION, THE CURRICULUM AND INDIAN CONTESTATIONS OF LATE COLONIAL KNOWLEDGE

During the nineteenth century, European scholars and missionaries often presumed that English education and Christianity were formative formulae in the creation of a modern, secular, English-speaking Indian middle class and political elite. One underlying assumption was that the experience of English education enacted significant, transforming change upon Indian religious beliefs and that it washed away the superstition of the Puranas and Hindu legend. This chapter, by contrast, takes a much more cautious approach to this claim. So far this book has laid the framework and context of the educational enterprise by examining the wider functioning of education and its infrastructural weaknesses. This chapter will get more specific and take the analysis to the classroom and curricula. Firstly, it will explore the scholarly engagements with Hinduism by Christian missionaries and Orientalist scholars, and outline how they both attempted to draw historical connections between Christianity and Hinduism. The explicitly stated need for religious and spiritual discussion along the lines of Fulfilment led teachers and headmasters to study comparative religion and exchange sacred knowledge with pundits, moulvies and sannayasis in bazaars, mountain retreats and school corridors. This process was, at the same time, ultimately bound up with the relationship between western secular knowledge and Christianity. The second part of this chapter will then proceed to analyse the actual impact of the curricula upon the religiosity of students, saints and scholars. In doing so, it will explore how Indians contested the more hegemonic pretensions of education and colonial knowledge. At first glance, the impartation of western knowledge via the network of mission schools in north India was a striking example of the penetrating reach of colonialism into the Gangetic hinterland. Students encountered a curricula and knowledge system which had the potential to complicate their 'traditional' religious beliefs, cosmological sanctity and sacred geography. Indeed, some scholars[1] have argued that western knowledge served as a mask in unseating 'irrational' and 'superstitious' Indian beliefs. Yet there is much evidence to the contrary, and the interaction between students and western knowledge was far more complex. One main aim of this chapter is to take a more nuanced approach to the impact of western knowledge upon 'traditional' Indian religious sensibilities. In doing so, this section will attempt to answer the call to further examine the role of religion in relation to knowledge and the ability of Indian society to resist and contest the hegemonic pretences of colonialism.[2]

Scholars have tended to characterize the British and missionary engagement with Indian knowledge systems and religions as primarily disparaging, seeing the latter nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as largely hidebound and reactive. Others have unwittingly underscored this characterization by shedding light upon the revivalist movements of the Arya Samaj,[3] orthodox defenders of Hinduism[4] and north Indian Islam.[5] Yet it was not just a period of increasing ideological resistance, disparagement and reactionary revival. In particular, an overemphasis on race and religion as an ideology has diverted our attention from the more constructive undercurrents at work by 1900. Beneath the surface there was a strong engagement between different religious systems that was remarkably constructive and which saw engagement with pundits, moulvies, wandering holy men and itinerant preachers. This missionary and scholarly prerogative was greatly informed by Fulfilment.

At the same time, these missionary engagements also filled a void leftover by the colonial state's withdrawal from the cultural knowledge of Indian society.[6] The very recognition of Hinduism and Islam as already possessing inherent, Divine truth, suggested that Christian doctrine could be put to a constructive use. As a by-product, many missionary educationists held opinions of Hinduism and India that were in direct contrast to more 'official', disparaging beliefs. Charlie Andrews certainly had hidebound British officials in mind when he chided the 'false and one-sided picture given to the Hindu religion',[7] and qualified what John Nesfield called Hinduism's 'mythical and absurd'[8] religious convictions and its lack of a 'commonly accepted moral code of civilised communities'.[9] Missionaries corrected these often gross and uninformed representations. One missionary certainly had this in mind when he bluntly remarked that 'the absurdities of Hinduism have been unduly emphasised'.[10]

These disparities were all reflected in the wider educational enterprise. By 1900, these mission teachers-cum-scholars were both more sympathetic and engaging with Indian culture and religion than nearly anyone. They penetrated the Gangetic hinterland and cultural-religious landscape by conversing with wandering ascetics, itinerant preachers, pundits, by residing in districts for years on end, and by publishing their own treatises and studies. By contrast, the colonial state, and its increasingly racially-minded bureaucracy, had become significantly removed from the cultural knowledge of India. This was reflected in Dadabhai Naoroji's quip that even though the British ruled India they 'might just as well be living on the moon'.[11] Much of the information and deep engagement missionaries experienced in these very religious interactions was beyond the understanding of a hidebound colonial state and its increasingly racialist-minded administrators.

Christianity and Hinduism: Parallels, *bhakti* and Forced Connections

After the Indian Mutiny, missionaries explored many striking similarities between Hinduism and Christianity. The primary and most constrictive way they went about this was in engaging with the Vaishnavite tradition of Hinduism. This was essential to the educational enterprise, as it was not only most common amongst students, but was predominant in northern India, particularly in eastern UP and Bengal. Comprehending the basics of this Hindu school of thought made religious and spiritual discussions, in classrooms, corridors and courtyards, constructive. Here missionaries engaged in what can be termed positive apologetics,[12] seeking to discover commonalities between Christianity and Vaishnavite Hinduism. The latter witnessed a revival in northern and eastern India in the 1890s,[13] and was called by missionaries the 'nearest in thought and practise to the religion of Christ'. Teachers and scholars were attracted to this Hindu school because of its belief in the separate and distinct essences between God and Man (*dvaita*), or duality. Vaishnavism was also attractive because students were, generally, more inclined towards this dualistic understanding of Man and the Divine.[14] This was in contrast to *advaita* (monism), which is normally associated with Shaivism (the veneration of Shiva). It was also similar to mystical Islam's conception of *wahdat-ul-wujud* (unity of being) with its emphasis on the unity of all things, the 'illusion' of the real world, and the eventual absorption of the soul into the Godhead. Since Vaishnavism, much like Judeo-Christian understandings, maintained that the soul eternally remained distinct from the Divine, this was seen as a starting point for investigation and discussion. Prominent Orientalists such as Monier Williams and George Grierson interpreted the Vaishnavite tradition along a Darwinian trajectory, which saw it as evolving into a form of Christianity.[15] This was similarly reflected in the educational enterprise. Many missionaries took on a similarly condescending approach, seeking to convince themselves and their pupils that Fulfilment was the appropriate means by which to approach Hinduism.

Dr William Hooper of the CMS was one missionary educationist who engaged with the Vaishnavite tradition and its relation to Christianity. His interactions were edifying for both himself and his conservationists. Hooper had been and was a Boden Sanskrit scholar at Oxford. He was also tutored by Nilakanth (Nehemiah) Goreh.[16] Whilst working in Banaras for years, he conversed with pundits, sannayasis, wandering holy men, and philosophers, in which concepts of duality, the Divine and salvation were all discussed. Hooper wrote a treatise in the 1890s entitled 'The Hindu Doctrine of Transmigration', and outlined a very clear hope of finding the commonalities between Judeo-Christian notions of the afterlife (with its concept of eternal judgement for one's deeds) and the Hindu notion that souls migrate from one life to another (*samsara*) as a result of one's deeds.[17] Hooper also drew further upon Indian tradition to make connections. Hooper employed the works of Sri Ramanuja Acharya, a Tamil *Vedanta* ('culmination of the Vedas') philosopher of south India in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, to vindicate his scholarship. Ramanuja largely held to a monotheistic philosophy, which combined *dvaita* and *advaita*, and, Hooper pointed out, Ramanuja held that the world was not an illusion and that the concept of Divine incarnation was real.[18] This suggested strong similarities between Christianity and Hinduism. In doing so, more significantly, Hooper used Indian concepts and traditions as a means. But he was not forcing debate on his subjects. His work in Banaras in 1896, he noted, was characterized by vibrant, animated discussions about Vaishnavism, Christianity and their relationship. He found Hindus and Indians of all types open, and congenial to such religious discussions which, he complained, bordered too much on philosophy. These were, he later wrote, 'marked by a feeling of great sympathy and unity'[19] in discussing the nature of the soul, its distinctness from the divine, and their relationship.

This constructive engagement with Hindu and Indian tradition was reflected at numerous other levels. Missionary scholars and teachers undertook similar investigations. Rev. William Holland, in his review of the Oxford and Cambridge Hostel, praised the *Bhagavad Gita* after familiarizing himself with it as 'the one pure and spiritual writing of Hinduism'.[20] Holland learnt Sanskrit in order to access the 'extraordinary literary movements among educated men', and help him to understand Hinduism as, he argued, one would learn Arabic to understand the Koran.[21] His colleague from the LMS, Thomas Slater, believed that the Gita had an intricate role to play in the system of world religions, and bore many similarities to the Bible and the morality of Jesus.[22] And it was not just Hinduism which was the focus; Buddhism was also engaged, though less frequently. An American missionary, J. P Jones, elaborated upon the commonalities between Buddha and Jesus. He drew connections between Buddhism and Christianity by examining each system's founding character as a moral leader. Jones argued that they both placed an utmost emphasis upon charity, love for one's neighbour, and were critical of excessive ritualism.[23]

Indians, however, did engage in discourse and exchange, even if missionaries set the tone for debate. It was not always vain and confrontational. Many Indian holy men, missionaries found, were surprisingly more open to discussing religion comparatively, rather than merely posing as orthodox, solipsistic defenders of *sanatana dharma* (the 'eternal religion', e.g., Hinduism). One missionary in 1878, after giving a public lecture on religion and morality, was asked by a Hindu to come back to his residence with others to continue the debate. They all then proceeded to flush out theological differences, with the Hindu audience coming not to defend Hinduism, but to propose, to the LMS missionary's bewilderment and approval, a hybrid faith of bhakti and Gospel morality.[24] The Bishop of Lahore spoke in Mayo Hall, Allahabad, on 'The Reasonableness of a Divine Incarnation', which touched upon the similarities between Hinduism and Christianity, comparing the incarnation of Jesus to that of Krishna.[25] He found his audience animated by the debate and passionate about discussing Hindu-Christian similarities. Other missionaries believed that Jesus could serve as a guru to Hindus.[26] This again was employing Indian tradition. Often, Indians themselves initiated discussion. A young Bengali Hindu asked Henry Stern if he could deliver a lecture to his students at the High School on the life of Jesus in relation to Hinduism.[27] St John's College held a theological debate in 1897 which is of particular notice. This witnessed a vibrant exchange between Ahmad Masih, a Muslim convert to Christianity, and Jahangir Khan. Both discussed the particulars of Islam and Christianity. The debate was followed by William Hooper's lecture on 'The Hindu Doctrine of Merit'.[28] The Bishop of Calcutta invited Pundit Kharak Singh to Allahabad to lecture a group of students on 'The Arya and Buddha Religions'.[29] Zoroastrianism was also engaged. George Longridge of the CMS drew connections between the teachings of Zoroaster and Jesus. He stated that 'there is much in the Parsi religion of which we can approve, because in it we can see a reflection of Christ'.[30]

It was not just with students and those more closely tied to educational experiences whom missionaries sought to converse. Learned Indians of all types were actively sought out, especially those knowledgeable in Hinduism's 'higher' (read: more 'monotheistic') schools. In Ayodhya, Rev. James Harrison conversed for years with local pundits. He never dismissed their ideas outright, and observed that 'the better educated we found to be possessed with Christian truths'.[31] William Gremantle of the CMS was on a ship off the coast of Portugal with the Brahmo Samajist, Pratap Chunder Muzumdar. The two had a long, fruitful talk about God, Hinduism and Christianity. Gremantle was intrigued and 'was learning much of Hindu and progressive Indian thought from the humble, deeply religious seeker after truth ... may God keep not just us [but] all our dear brethren'.[32] Arthur Crosthwaite, in analysing the shared notions of incarnation between Hinduism and Christianity, noted that the ten incarnations (avatars) of Vishnu resembled an evolutionary pattern, in the forms of fish, reptiles, boar, man-lion, Ram, Krishna and Buddha. This suggested a degree of symmetry between Hinduism and nature. Crosthwaite suggested that this proved that God had revealed himself to ancient India long ago through creation, since nature bore God's very imprint.[33] Crosthwaite also recognized as 'Christian' the theistic leanings of the *Ramayana*, the Vedic concept of sin as slavery, Buddhism's emphasis on the other-worldly and the Upanishadic notion that man was not free from the world. He also equated the Gita's devotion (*bhakti*) with theism. Much like Hooper, he also engaged with Ramajuna's works on the individuality of souls.[34]

Rev. James Johnson of the CMS was another example of someone who engaged in constructive religious and spiritual discourse with Indian literati and pundits in both Banaras and Ayodhya. He was emblematic of a missionary-scholars-educationist cadre which engaged in vibrant exchange with a wide variety of holy men and English-educated Indians. Johnson was a remarkable Sanskritist and was more conversant in Hinduism than Christianity.[35] Johnson believed that working in Banaras amongst pundits and sadhus was as important as working with students. He even took part in Hindu *mela*s (religious gatherings).[36] In Ayodhya he had a long and fruitful conversation during the spring of 1904, and noted that pundits found Christianity very interesting and fulfilling in their own understanding of Hinduism.[37] Johnson found himself constantly approached by pundits who wished to discuss religious matters and find common grounds between their two religions. They often asked for religious tracts which they studied and returned to discuss their interpretations the following week.[38] He attended services in the *mandir*s (temples) and pundits conversely attended church services.[39] One particular individual of a local *math* (monastery) requested a copy of the New Testament, which Johnson willingly gave him. They met several time afterwards. When Johnson had difficulty in conceptualizing the finer points of Hinduism, primarily Vedantic philosophy, one pundit helped him understand them better.[40] When Johnson had passed out Hindi and Sanskrit versions of the Bible in 1903, he found upon his return the following year that pundits were utilizing Judeo-Christian theology to refute one another.[41] Johnson was smugly satisfied with this, and was actually warned by the CMS parent committee not to neglect his evangelical duties. They were worried that he was spending too much time in pursuing his philosophical studies of Hinduism, and consequently had his 'Munshi allowance' (instructor in Indian languages) reduced.[42] Johnson became known locally as 'pundit' by Hindus and his fellow CMS missionaries.[43]

Discourse with more ostentatiously hostile and scoffing groups such as the Arya Samaj was also sought out. Another example of this intense and willing religious discourse and exchange was seen in the case of Nanak Chand. A Brahman who had converted to the revivalist and 'back to the Vedas' philosophy of the Samaj, Chand was invited by St John's College to lecture on the *Isa Pariksha* (An Examination of Jesus) for five weeks in August and September of 1886. He attended, and lectured comparatively on topics such as sin, fate and its relation to freewill, God, Divinity and salvation.[44] Johnson, again, also engaged in discourse with the Arya Samaj and other students who joined the society. In the Banaras Mission Church, he held a theological debate which used the Samaj treatise *Isa Pariksha* as the starting point. The treatise's author then participated in a series of debates with Johnson, until the contents of the book had been exhausted.[45]

Numerous other missionaries engaged in religious discourse and debate. These interactions were vibrant and, significantly, existed beneath the surface of a growing religious polarization in late colonial India. George Westcott of the SPG, for example, was enthusiastic about a treatise which a former pupil at Christ Church College (Kanpur) planned on writing. Its aim was to 'describe the scientific necessity of incarnation, the common ground on which Hindus and Christians stand'.[46] Even though the student never published it, Westcott's pupil circulated it amongst students. Rev. John Robson was another missionary scholar of Hinduism who embodied this constructive engagement. He believed that his own faith and those of his students had much in common, especially their recipe for solving the problem of atonement for sin by substitution or through vicarious suffering. Here, he drew parallels between the figures of Jesus and Krishna.[47] Conversing with pundits and sadhus in Banaras, he believed, much like Hooper and Johnson, that Ramanuja's ideas bore a striking resemblance to Gospel morality. Robson was particularly attracted to Ramanuja's doctrine that knowledge alone could not guarantee salvation (*moksha*) and that one could have a personal, loving relationship with the Divine. This appealed to Robson, who saw similarities to the Protestant concept of a personal, direct relationship with God. He was also intrigued by Ramanuja's belief that the soul and the Divine are separate (although Robson, curiously, wavered around the nuances of this distinction[48]), and that God is infinitely good, rather than just a powerful ruler of the universe into whom humans were to be absorbed.[49] Robson, like Hooper, also came to be known as a 'pundit' by some locals and missionaries.[50]

Melville Kennedy was another example of a cadre of missionary-scholar-educationists who attempted to read his own faith and Hinduism comparatively. A member of the LMS, he undertook an impressive study of Vaishnavism in Bengal and parts of upper India, focusing on the fatherhead of the movement, Chaityana (*c.* fifteenth century). Throughout his treatise, Kennedy attempted to read Christianity into Hindu tradition. Kennedy argued, rather meticulously, that Vaishnavism was more monotheistic than Shaivism, and that the former had many similarities with Christianity. He interpreted this as proof that an evolutionary scheme of the world's religions was natural and Divinely ordained.[51] He noted that for Vaishnavites, heaven was a definite goal, rather than absorption into the Godhead. Kennedy identified four concepts which, he argued, were no different from Judeo-Christian concepts: *salokya*, being on the same plane with God; *samipya*, nearness to God; *sarapya*, likeness to God; *sarshti*, in the glory of

God.[52] Kennedy also cited the fact that both religions had high ethical standards, a love for humanity, goodwill towards neighbours (*ahimsa*, or non-violence), both behoved forgiveness and both made *prembhakti* (loving devotion) central.[53]

It was not just the dualistic school of Vaishnavism with which missionaries engaged. Commonalities were also sought out between the *Advaita* school of *Vedanta* and Christianity. Vedanta was attractive since it was the most prominent of the six classical Hindu philosophical schools and because of its insistence on the final authority of the Vedas, which many missionaries interpreted as already possessing monotheistic tendencies. This was significant, for it reflected the lengths to which missionaries went to forcibly connect Hinduism with Christianity. William Urquhart[54] was one prime example of this cadre of missionaries who constructively engaged with Indian tradition. He served as Principal of the Scottish Churches College in Calcutta, and was highly influenced by both Fulfilment and Farquhar himself (whom he knew personally). Urquhart undertook an extensive treatise on the Vedanta and its relation to Christianity, and dealt primarily with *advaita* philosophy and the metaphysics of monism. Although Urquhart believed that the Vedanta was a preparatory agency for Christianity, he more importantly sought commonalities between Hinduism and Christianity. Yet in doing so, he also drew many parallels with western religion and thought. Urquhart located traditions of logic and reason in Indian thought which predated Europe's and Antiquity's. His efforts, it must be stressed, were not purely attempts to read Hinduism into Christianity, but suggested that western scholarship was de-tangled from Christianity. He argued that the Sanskritic dictum, *tat tvam asi* (that you are), possessed the same reason and metaphysical essence as René Descartes' dictum *je pense, donc je suis* (I think, therefore I am); he believed that both similarly represented a rational foundation for metaphysics. Urquhart also noted that the Sanskritic phrase predated the European philosopher's by thousands of years.[55] It also implied, if read studiously, the unity of God and the real world. This, he argued, made divine incarnation possible. He also cited a contemporary reference, arguing that these ideas could also be found in the writings of William Wordsworth.[56] Urquhart also made connections with European tradition. *Vedanta* also espoused concepts similar to Spinoza's Opera Posthumous.[57] He compared the Brahma Sutras to the books of 'Sentences' of Medieval Europe, especially of Osodore of Seville (*c.* sixth and seventh centuries) and Peter the Lombard (*c.* twelfth century). On other particulars, Urquhart also devolved into the study of sacred vocabulary. The divine utterance of *Om*, he argued, was similar to the Greco-Christian conception of *Logos*, or the Word of God. Urquhart likened the concept of *maya* (illusion) to Kant's philosophy, and argued that European criticism of Hinduism's unconcern for the real world was 'undeserved'.[58] Vedanta, he argued, was markedly similar to thought processes taking place in medieval Europe's and could not simply be dismissed as 'different' or 'other'.[59]

All of these scholars sought to connect Christianity with Hinduism and to read the latter into the former. Yet the hinge of these religious discussions was the Indian notion of bhakti (devotion). As missionaries saw it, this was the link between Hinduism with Christianity, which had consequences for Indian tradition and, in the end, patriotism. Again, this was not a disparaging, willy-nilly construction of India's religious history and tradition, but was a constructive engagement. Retrospectively, this was akin to the scholarly appropriations of Hinduism by Dara Shukoh and Abul Fazl centuries before. For missionaries, *bhakti* could be translated from that of Krishna, with whom many comparisons were drawn, to relate Jesus to Indians. The codifier of Fulfilment, John Farquhar, noted similarities between the Bhagavad Gita and the Gospel, in addition to the Bible's similarities with the other compendiums such as the Upanishads.[60] *Bhakti*, he argued, made possible the correlation between Hinduism's highest moral characteristics and Christianity.[61] This Indian concept was appropriated, taken as proof that Hinduism was being 'prepared' for Christianity, and that the world's religions followed a Darwinian evolutionary trajectory. One of the foremost exponents of Fulfilment, Thomas Slater of the LMS, believed that 'no religion lies in utter isolation from the rest, but that each being the manifestation of a human want, has a *raison d'être,* a place to fill, a work to do in the great evolutionary scheme'.[62] Slater also read Christianity into the Vedas and argued that they possessed the Gospel-esque virtues of sin and sacrifice.[63] Numerous other missionary scholars interpreted the Gita as akin to Gospel morality, with Krishna and Jesus exhibiting markedly similar virtues.[64]

Another way in which missionaries attempted to connect Hinduism and Christianity was by encouraging theism amongst their students. This was to concurrently underscore the centrality of bhakti in reading Christianity into Hinduism. In doing so, explicit doctrine was decidedly jettisoned. A perusal of the records of St Stephen's teachers, for example, strongly suggests that moving Hinduism towards a more theistic perspective was one of their most desirable aims.[65] Charlie Andrews observed that many of his students at St Stephen's, after their courses in western literature and science did not become, as many critics argued, atheists, but 'took up somewhat vague theistic positions'.[66] This was similarly reflected in other missionary teachers, whilst William Holland saw his duty as one of bringing young Hindu pupils to a closer understanding of God as one Supreme Being, notwithstanding the fact that only two of his students ever converted.[67]

This near obsession with monotheism was further reflected in the manners in which missionary scholars approached the textual sources of Indian and Hindu tradition. Missionary scholars such as Thomas Slater interpreted the Vedas[68] and

Upanishads[69] as evidence of a larger organic, if not cosmically-sanctioned process. They saw these texts as bearing the imprint of Divine (albeit incomplete) inspiration. Others pointed to the 'stern[70] and 'essential[71] theistic purity of Sanskritic texts as evolutionary proof of preparedness for God's final message. Slater, again, recognized the importance of such a goal at the 1879 Education Conference. At that meeting, he expressed the hope that if Hindus did not convert, at least they would become theists.[72]

This fixation upon theism as a stepping-stone towards Christianity was also echoed in missionary attitudes towards reformist organizations such as the Brahmo Samaj.[73] Missionaries regularly commended the efforts of Ram Mohan Roy and his progeny in attempting to bring Hinduism back to its 'monotheistic roots'. Teachers and scholars interpreted the 'New Dispensation' of Keshab Chunder Sen, an offshoot of Ram Moran Roy's Brahmo Samaj, as a further yearning for monotheism. Sen's veneration of Jesus as the 'prince of the prophets'[74] was seen as another point of connection, which should be taken up by missionaries. The Brahmos were not discounted, but to be welcomed for their reforming and theistic tendencies – even if their latitudinarian lack of doctrine irked many missionaries. One missionary even argued that they should be welcomed as 'fellow worshippers of our common father'.[75] Ironically, it was noted that former mission students who joined the Samaj (undoubtedly a small number outside of Bengal) were better versed in the Bible than in the Vedas.[76] Some missionaries took this with a smug of satisfaction. William Hooper, the 'pundit' of Banaras, also welcomed the Brahmo Samara's activities. He argued that they expressed a pre-existing yearning for God, and that any progress towards this path should be welcomed.[77] This also extended to other 'reforming' organizations and societies. John Farquhar noted with warm approval the activities of the Arya, Dev, and Prathana Samajs in championing the centrality of theistic belief, coupled with social reform.[78]

This recognition of a strong sense of theism, combined with students proclivities, the support given to reforming societies, and interpretations of Hindu religious texts, all converged to manifest themselves in the attitudes of teachers and headmaster. An examination of missionary memoirs and reports strongly suggests that the educational enterprise was becoming, as a result of their interactions with Indian society, more theistic over the latter nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. To a degree, it was also becoming more religiously tolerant. Missionaries believed that Hinduism already possessed theistic inclinations and was seeking an even greater understanding of God. William 'Pundit' Hooper, for example, believed that Christianity's theistic groundwork had slowly been permeating the Indian mind since the eighteenth century, and mission schools could assist in this process.[79] This was seen in one CMS Delhi school's main objective – to prepare students with some real-world qualifications and a belief in a Supreme Being. The headmaster did not encourage the recitation of explicitly Christian prayers, but, curiously, more theistic ones.[80] William Holland, in his experience at the Oxford and Cambridge Hostel in Allahabad, expressed a sense of satisfaction that his predominately Brahman lodgers were moving towards more monotheistic understanding of God, rather than venerating and patronizing the plurality of Hindu deities.[81] Henry Durrant, whilst reading BA examination papers on the subject 'We boast that we are better than our fathers', satisfyingly found many answers were inundated with theistic and almost deistic venerations of God.[82] Charles Westcott, one of the head administrators at St Stephen's, observed that 'what we see is not all: what we can very dimly conceive is not all. Beyond every thought is something, rather Some One, Who we feel and gain strength from spiritual contact. We trust that this is the kind of conviction, of experience, which [we] will be able to show realised'.[83] Another missionary observed that amongst the educated classes, the names of 'pantheistic' Hindu deities, such as Shiva, Ram, Durga, Hanuman and Vishnu were less frequently used. The term 'God' was becoming more commonplace.[84]

Indian Contestations of Fulfilment and the Terms of Discourse

These missionary scholars were undoubtedly condescending in their attempts to place Hinduism upon an evolutionary trajectory by reading Christianity into it. Missionaries may have set the tone for religious debate and exchange, yet Indians did much to contest the enterprise's inherent Christocentricism. The rubric of Fulfilment was condescending,[85] but this did not preclude Indians from contesting it. It must be stressed that it was never absolute. Indians countered the forced attempts of missionaries to make connections between India's religions and Christianity. Indian scholars wrote treatises which contested the Christocentric and Darwinian trajectory which missionary educationists sought to impose. This tapped into a larger debate on the degrees to which religious ideas may have been borrowed from each other.

The debate over the historical origins of Hinduism had been in progress since the eighteenth century as seen in the polemics of Maurice and Wilford. These debates were also arguments over the validity of Indian tradition. They were also, in turn, also patriotic ones. During the nineteenth century, comparative religious scholarship, and all it suggested, proliferated in both the German and British academy. With the steady corralling of knowledge of India and Hinduism, Christian theologians and students of comparative religion took increasing note of the affinities between Hinduism and Christianity. This was a vibrant debate which had proliferated within Indian intellectual circles and in European academies, particularly in Germany. One main figure to postulate such a relationship was Christian Lassen.[86] This Norwegian-German Orientalist, who assisted

Friedrich von Schlegel's translation of the Ramayana, dabbled with the possibility of early Christian influence upon Hinduism. Lassen argued that *bhakti* and the notion of Krishna's divinity were influenced by early contacts with Nestorian and Syrian Christians in the forth and fifth centuries AD.[87] Franz Lorinser[88] was another scholar who followed in the German philological tradition. He argued, similarly to Maurice and Lassen, that Krishna's attributes of piety, humility and love were 'plagiarised' from early Christian missionaries in north India, on the *sveta-dvipa*. Again, here was another concept which continued in currency from the eighteenth century. He also argued that the 'flowery' and enlightening message of the Bhagavad Gita was in fact plagiarized from the New Testament.[89] This continuation of the late eighteenth-century debate had by 1900, however, a more numerous and intense scholarly following. Such attitudes were echoed elsewhere and across the Atlantic. Scholars such as the American Edward W. Hopkins,[90] who had studied at Leipzig and under the influence of the German philological tradition, held modified views. He argued that Indians did not plagiarize outright from Christian texts, but had selectively borrowed whatever fitted within their own tradition. Nicol Manicol, who was a teacher in a Pune mission school, made a similar claim. He argued that the striking similarities between Krishna and Jesus could only be accounted for by an emanation from west to east.[91] A scenario was thus set-up for a questioning of the loci of supposedly 'Christian' traits found in Hinduism.

There was thus, superficially, a larger intellectual straitjacket which set the tone for missionary engagements with Hinduism along the contours of Fulfilment. This was, in turn, a debate over Indian tradition. In response, a network of northern and eastern Indian scholars engaged with and contested these terms of debate. Bengali intellectuals, those with the earliest access to English education and who had some of the more intense encounters with missionary polemic, led this debate.[92] They utilized 'rational' and supposed modern systems of analysis to refute European claims. These scholars were not directly involved in classroom pedagogy. But more significantly, they engaged with the educational enterprise at an India-wide level by addressing its wider ideological underpinnings. This was as much a religious debate as it was a patriotic one. Many of these popular scholars were engaged in archaeological patriotism, seeking not only to rebut Christocentric scholars, but to also establish a chronological, archaeological and religious authenticity for the Indian nation. These scholars were all influenced by the stirrings of the *swadeshi* movement and nationalism of the early twentieth century. The educational enterprise and Indian nationalism, upon close inspection, were closely intertwined.

Mahendranath Sircar was one example of someone who did much to contest the Christocentricism of Fulfilment and one main pillars of the educational enterprise. A famed professor of Philosophy at the Calcutta Sanskrit and Presidency Colleges, and Calcutta University, Sircar developed an international reputation. He undertook a significant study of comparative Vedantism during the 1910s and 1920s. He questioned and successfully contested the assertions of European and Christian scholars about the origins of Hinduism. Sircar argued that Vedic sacrifices were clearly not 'paganistic' rites, but were themselves forms of bhakti, as they exhibited unwritten, non-canonical forms of devotion towards God.[93] If the Vedas (*c.* 1,500–1,000 BC), as many western Orientalists themselves argued, predated the Gospel and Jesus, then logically *bhakti* predated the birth of Christ and presence of missionaries by nearly a millennia.[94] This meant that Christian influence upon Hinduism was difficult to account for, and that, in turn, the divinity of Krishna and its association with bhakti developed independently.

Hamchandra Raychaudhuri was another example of someone who contested this ideological pillar of the educational enterprise. Raychaudhuri possessed an impressive, masterly knowledge of the Gita, the Bible, and numerous other sources of Indian 'tradition'. In his treatise, he directly contested the notion that bhakti was significantly influenced by Christianity and missionaries of an early era. Raychaudhuri cited the existence of devotional cults amongst the Indo-Greek communities (*yavanas*) in north India, whose existence predated the Christian era by over 300 years. In particular, he cited extant devotional centres and seminaries as indicated in Ashoka's Rock Edict XIII, from the third century BC. This suggested that loving devotionalism (*prembhakti*) pre-existed the supposed contacts with early Christians in north India for which Wilford, Maurice, and later Lassen and Manicol, all argued.[95] He located further devotional traditions with *Vasudeva* (c. second century BC), and the influence of the Tamil saints, mainly the south Indian *acharyas* (prominent gurus) Nathamuni and Alvandar. These also predated the Christian era. Raychaudhuri also went on to cite the *Ghosunda* and *Bisnagar* inscriptions and their chronology to demonstrate that Krishna's divinity, rather than originating from Christian inspiration and influence, originated in India.[96] Thus, Krishna's divine incarnation, purportedly borrowed from early Christian influence, had an indigenous, independent development. Raychuadhuri cited the *Tattriya Aranyaka* to demonstrate that incarnation was already implicit and predated Christ by over a millennium.[97]

Brajendranath Seal was another example of a small but instructive cadre of English-educated Indians who contested the direction and terms of missionary debate. Seal was a member of the Brahmo Samaj intellectual clique, and a major intellectual figure in early twentieth century Bengal. He was also a classmate of Swami Vivekananda and friends with both Rabindranath Tagore and William Urquhart. He was unique amongst these three scholars in the sense that he undertook a treatise on comparative Christian-Vaishnavite theology and religion.[98] Missionaries obviously had a home and Christian audience in mind when scholars such as Urquhart, Farquhar and Manicol undertook their printed treatises. Seal, it seems, had a patriotic pan-Indian and world-wide audience in mind, along with those of his missionary and European critics. Displaying an impressive command of European and Indian scholarship, Seal, like Raychaudhuri and Sircar, cited texts and the writings of the early Tamil saints which exhorted bhakti and devotional love towards God before the Christian era. He argued that the notion of salvation through faith in Krishna and consequent deliverance from sin (*papavibhocan*), a usual missionary employ, also had an indigenous and independent development.[99] He further argued that there was no contact between missionaries and Indians on famous, almost mythical sveta-dvipa. According to Seal, divine incarnation (*avatara*) was not a resultant of early Christian influence, but in fact had an independent development. He cited Panini's sutras (treatises) to demonstrate that Krishna was revered as divine seven centuries before the Christian era. Seal even went one step further and re-oriented the debate. He argued that the universal message of Christianity, in fact, had more to do with Buddhist influences, primarily the proselytizing missions sent out by Ashoka during the Magadhan Empire. He further argued that this doctrine of divine incarnation also had its origins in the Upanishads and Brahmanas, both of which predated Jesus.[100] The notion of *logos* (word of God), Seal also argued, had an indigenous Indian origin (the term *vac*, or speech), with shadows of it in the Upanishads and the Yoga Sutras XXVII and XXVIII.[101] This suggested that the Greco-Christian idea of the Word of God being present in human form was not exclusive to Christianity. On more nuanced issues, Seal utilized textual exegesis to demonstrate that Vaishnavites reconciled individual freedom with Providence centuries before Christians, and that Luther himself was over a millennium late in positing that faith alone granted salvation. This, he argued, was anticipated in the Upanishads,[102] and the main premise of Fulfilment, that the world's faiths were fulfilled through Christianity, was turned on its head. Seal argued that Christianity would only be fulfilled by its contact with the world's religions, rather than vice-versa.[103]

These larger ideological foundations of the educational enterprise were contested vigorously. In doing so, Sircar, Raychaudhuri and Seal all directly contested the Christocentricism not only of Hopkins, but also Lorinser, Manicol and Lassen. This was also mirrored at more specific levels within the enterprise. The Bengali intellectual landscape may have contested the enterprise's ideological pillars, but it was the more acute interactions between students and teachers upcountry which chipped away at its mortar. Within classrooms and corridors, students absorbed and appropriated the moralities imparted in mission schools and their larger ideological superstructures. This thwarted the condescending Darwinian trajectory which missionaries sought to impose. Mission teachers and headmasters found that their efforts were complicated by Indian society's ability to adapt and borrow as its newly educated literati saw fit. In fact, it was generally recognized that one of Hinduism's greatest strengths and vitalities lay in its ability to encompass many faiths and conflicting notions of the Divine. We already know much about the contestations of missionary polemics by well-known Indian figures such as Dayananda Saraswati.[104] Yet upon more detailed inspection, numerous others were able to theologically contest missionaries and Christianity without confrontationally ridiculing it. This was a remarkable feature of Hinduism, and should not be underplayed. Teachers were fully familiar with 'the powers of absorption which characterizes Hinduism'[105] and how Indians were able to successfully absorb and contest the theological challenges posed by missionary polemic. This ability, combined with their dominance of the educational enterprise and the strong demand for Indian education, ensured that students were not just innocent victims of a dominating colonial infrastructure and accompanying, condescending ideological rubric.

Hinduism, rather than crumble under comparative scholarship and revealed connections, was able to assimilate a great deal of Christian ideals through the *bhakti* tradition. In a way, it was very much 'modern' in the sense that it allowed students to adopt and appropriate particular Christian ideals. It recognized the truth of Christianity as one of many, and moralities propagated at mission schools were accommodated accordingly. As scholars have demonstrated, *bhakti* was central to Hindu understandings of self,[106] and Hindus did not need to alter their religious identity. *Bhakti*'s ability to assimilate Christian devotional love was usually seen as the explanation for Hindus' willingness to adapt ideals over doctrine.[107] Robert Wilson, writing on the effects of missions in India, was in awe of Hinduism's vitality. He wistfully confided that instead of Hinduism collapsing under missionary polemics, 'it will merely come to a fuller understanding of the strength of Christianity and adapt itself to absorb that religion also, so we shall have a new Hindu-Christianity with Jesus as the tenth avatar'.[108]

Students contested these Christocentric notions and contested missionaries. They did this at their own level within classrooms and corridors, and utilized ideas from within Christianity itself. Rev. Henry Durrant, for example, noted how at his high school in Faizabad, Indian converts complained to the European staff that they hypocritically lacked the fraternal love which they so readily preached.[109] Another student at St John's greatly irritated and confounded his mission teacher when the former cited the Gospel verse, 'he who is not against us is for us', to question why, when like most students he accepted Christian morality, missionaries still wanted to convert him.[110]

Other students drew upon Indian tradition to confound the trajectory which missionaries sought to impose. These responses were, often enough, interpreted as 'baffling' and illogical by European missionaries. For example one student, later to become a Chief Justice, utilized the notion of God's multiplicity. Drawing upon Indian tradition, he flummoxed William Holland by elaborating upon the notion of nominal religious conversion. His student suggested that one did not need to convert to necessarily accept the moralities of other religious systems, claiming that 'after all there is not much difference between us. You are converted when you find God in Christ. We Hindus are converted when we find God in ourselves'.[111] This student was clearly questioning the notion of nominal religious conversion. Girls at one school told their instructor that the notion of repentance for sins (atonement), rather than being introduced into India by missionaries, was already practised through the worship of Kali.[112] One student at St Stephen's thanked (and in the process greatly peeved) his instructor for Bible instruction, claiming that it helped him return to the Vedas where he found, as he put it, 'exactly the same teaching'.[113] At the Gorakhpur CMS high school, Hindu students frustrated the efforts of their instructors by offering daily prayers to Ram, Krishna and Jesus. The students employed the Indian notion of *avatara* (reincarnation) to explain why all these figures should be worshipped, for they all exhibited the attributes of God.[114]

Students not only absorbed the moralities imparted at mission schools, but they went beyond this and appropriated such religious virtues into an Indian mould. In fact, there were many instances when they were able to constructively incorporate the very theistic encouragements of missionaries. These were examples of the syncretic tendencies which were engendered within the educational enterprise. These hybrid moralities, needless to say, greatly frustrated teachers and headmasters. One orthodox Hindu, for example, confided to John Haythornwaite that modern Hinduism was 'neither more nor less than Christianity without Christ', and argued that Hindus did not need to convert.[115] Thomas Dodson cited Bengali and Sanskrit versions of 'Songs for the worship of the Goddess Durga' which adopted verses from Anna Coghill's very Christian hymn, 'Work, for the Night is Coming'.[116] Thomas Slater of the LMS, reflecting upon his years of experience in north India, minced no words when he called it 'strange and not a little irritating'[117] to see bright, young people freely borrow such ideas and mould them into the larger rubric of Hinduism. Even Thomas à Kempis's 'Imitation of Christ' was adapted to the Hindu version of 'The Imitation of Krishna', partly influenced by the lessons on self-renunciation taught in mission schools.[118] Rev. Henry Stern observed that in Gorakhpur, Hindus who had been educated at St Andrew's College attended a *mela* and chanted Gospel *bhajans* (hymns), even though they had never converted.[119]

One society which deserves particular attention was the Radha Swami Samaj. This society was emblematic of the hybrid engagement between missionary Christianity and Hinduism. It also, more importantly, demonstrated the particular limits of Christian and missionary influence upon India's religious tradition and landscape. It was founded by Shiva Dayal Sahib, a *khattri*, who was later succeeded by Pundit Sankara Mira; both took their MAs at Allahabad University. Their society was secretive and filled with members who were university educated, usually at Allahabad. They were most numerous in Ludhiana, but had a following of over 15,000 in the United Provinces, particularly in the Doab region. They formulated a cosmology which served as their raison d'être, dividing the cosmos into eighteen abodes (or levels) of living.[120] The bottom stages, one through six, were inhabited by Muslims, Sufi saints and Guru Nanak, the founder of the Sikh religion. The middle stages, seven through eleven, were inhabited by Krishna, Ram and Jesus.[121] The highest stages, twelve through eighteen, were (perhaps unsurprisingly) inhabited by the Radha Swami Samaj. Transmigration was preached, in accordance with varna theory, and members of all religious convictions were welcomed. But the adaptation of Jesus as inhabiting the seventh through eleventh levels of being was not even the most ostentatious adaptation. The sect's members believed the Supreme Deity possessed a threefold nature. The first was the Swami, or Lord of All, to whom there could be no attributes. Radha, or the creative spirit, emanated from Swami, and becomes part of the real and human world – the Vaishnavite notion of dvaita. And lastly was the incarnation of Swami, or the Sant Satguru, who was the supreme guide for humanity on earth, and who possessed the perfection of The Divine. This was a Hinduism Trinity. The Samaj built a temple for worship which could accommodate 2,000 members, and was termed by Edwin Graves a 'strange mixture of mysticism and pseudo-science',[122] especially their veneration of a guru's leftover food and used bathwater.[123] It may have been labelled a 'radical' organization, and Sampurnanand did flirt with joining it in the 1930s under the ideology of Hindu revivalism.[124] But more relevant to our discussion here is that the similarity with Trinitarian doctrine demonstrated that Indians could appropriate Christian ideals within the larger rubric of Indian tradition. What was even more significant was that this demonstrated the limits of the educational enterprise's larger prerogatives.

Pundits and other Hindu holy men further contested Christian superiority by adapting and contesting the 'monopoly' of morality which missionaries sought to impose. This was a process where, again, pundits were able to appropriate what they saw best in Christianity whilst eschewing the remainder. One pundit asked a CMS missionary for a copy of what he called the 'Christian Shastras'. Although he neither converted nor laid claim to any exclusive truth, he did travel around the villages in Allahabad at night, in a fit of knight-errantry, preaching the moral lessons of the Bible by campfire, urging his audience to follow the book's moral examples.[125] In the city's bazaar, Rev. William Treanor conversed with a pundit who bought a copy of St Matthew's Gospel and, whilst making clear that no one should convert, he urged his co-religionists to follow the book's moral precepts.[126] The lines between Christianity, Hinduism and Islam were often fluid and not always divisive. When CMS preachers in Agra were challenged by Arya Samajists and local moulvies, one of their first defenders was an orthodox pundit, Nawall Chand,[127] who lauded Christianity's morality, but not necessarily that of its nominal adherents (i.e., the British).

Another way in which Indians were able to contest Christianity and its theological tenets was by drawing upon Indian traditions in cosmology, sacred geography and philosophy. In doing so, Indians used purportedly 'archaic' concepts to contest Orientalist and missionary polemics. From one perspective, these were instances of the 'modernity' of the west and Christianity being contested and appropriated. Rev. William Hooper, speaking in Khurja, wished to discuss the concept of transmigration with local pundits and a few students, in the hope of provoking fruitful discourse. But he was ultimately disappointed when one Indian remarked: 'of course transmigration is true; philosophers have always praised it; and now Europe and America are returning to the ancient faith in it'.[128] Karma, the ethical law of causation, was another frequent target of missionary polemic. It was usually seen as antagonistic to Christian morality and incompatible with Judeo-Christian conceptions of the afterlife and singular judgement. Edward Hopkins, echoing many missionaries, argued that it was 'intellectually impossible'[129] for an educated Hindu to reconcile the two. But this was qualified by the Arya Samajist, Lala Baij Nath, in his 1905 treatise *Hinduism: Ancient and Modern*. He argued that karma, and the daunting prospect of *samsara* (the cycle of rebirths) actually induced one to behave morally, contrary to arguments that it propagated fatalism and irresponsible morality. It was no different from the Judeo-Christian concept of judgement, except that Hinduism's was cyclical. Nath argued that this was not, contrary to missionary and western criticism, mere fatalism; it was inarguably worse than a mere singular post-life punishment.[130] Another conversation between one missionary and a Hindu led the latter to defend karma on the basis that it was consistent with monotheism, good and evil. This individual argued along the lines of affective knowledge and aesthetics, remarking that when one felt and saw karma's effects, it was a sign that one had broken God's laws. This led the LMS missionary to comment that one might, ironically, mistake his rhetoric for that of a Protestant missionary.[131] In fact many English-educated Hindus, Herbert Risley observed, held karma to be superior to the notion of one final judgement, since karma was cyclical.[132] Jayarama Rau, whom we have already discussed, also joined this debate. In his 1871 lecture, *Christianity and Education in India*, he maintained that the Trinitarian doctrine of God was not unique to Christianity. In doing so he also drew upon Indian tradition. He argued that Hindus already had their own Trinity which predated the Christian era – Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva,[133] and the ultimate ire of evangelicals and their home audience, what they considered to be Hindu pantheism, was turned on its head by Shridar Ketkar. Ketkar, who went on to obtain his PhD from Cornell University, instructively drew upon Indian tradition. He remarked that only a form of monotheism which accounted for the mosaic of the world's numerous interpretations of the Divine could accurately gauge the nature of God. Ketkar cited the similarities between the world's religions to assert that 'pantheistic monotheism is the only possible form of consistent monotheism'.[134]

The Western Curriculum and Indian Contestations

These contestations of the trajectory which missionary scholars and Orientalists sought to impose upon India were echoed more acutely in the classrooms and corridors of mission schools. Missionaries and British reformers held, at varying levels, a general belief that Copernican astronomy and modern European cartography could chip away at Hindu 'superstition' and Puranic sacred cosmology. This was a way of undermining Hinduism clandestinely, and was seen as a powerful weapon in Britain's (and Christianity's) arsenal of influence. Yet the actual unfolding of this process was no less significant than its rhetorical ends. Upon more detailed inspection, the interaction between students and their curricula was far from a simple plot of subversion and subjection. Indians were actively alert in contesting the more hegemonic pretences of western knowledge and their supposed 'deconstructive' effects (to use the modern term); they did this utilizing both Indian and western 'rational' methods. In doing so, students, saints and scholars contested Sir Henry Cotton's assertion that English education and its impartation of western scholarship led to a radical 'break'[135] in Hindu tradition and thought. And there was a wider significance to these contestations. These were debates over the relationship between tradition and modernity, which themselves were exercised in patriotism. Students, saints and scholars drew upon Indian tradition to demonstrate that India possessed extant practices of logic, rationality and, ultimately, modernity. Throughout, this section uses Jürgen Habermas' definition of knowledge as information,[136] and not exclusively a Foucauldian and Baconian tool of power.

The missionary religious element, via the template of Fulfilment, was crucial in this interaction. *Preparatio evangelica* may have been a self-assuring rhetorical device, but, coupled with Fulfilment, it was also a double-edged sword. If teachers, scholars and headmasters were to recognize the 'truths' of other religious systems, they concurrently undermined any hope that students were more likely to become Christian as a result of their courses. Ironically, missionary attempts to connect Christianity with Hinduism had the effect of subverting the importance of knowledge within the educational enterprise.

This role of 'colonial knowledge', before we proceed, needs to be given a wider context. Concealed beneath these assertions of the superiority of western learning and science were vibrant debates amongst the British, Europeans and professed Christians over whether western science and learning were intricately related to the Divine. The changes in missionary attitudes in India strongly reflected the rhythms European and American attitudes over the role of secularism, science and godliness. These all reflected a multiplicity rather than a monolithic consensus. Missionaries themselves were fully aware of this contradiction, often finding themselves in a theological crossfire between Darwin and established Biblical chronology.[137] This section will detail how these inherent contradictions manifested themselves in the educational enterprise and how Indians contributed towards a wider intellectual debate.

Teachers' and headmasters' reflections reveal an attitude that placed little value upon the western curriculum to mould and shape their students' religious convictions. One by-product of this was that most teachers afforded little value to pedagogy as a missionary tool. This was emblematic of how another ideological pillar of the educational enterprise, the curricula as manifested in pedagogy, was being contested by students and popular scholars. More popular figures such as Worthington Jones and Sir Charles Elliot genuinely believed that western knowledge was transforming students' religious and caste-based convictions.[138] Yet what is revealed upon a more detailed analysis of the larger network of teachers and headmasters across the Gangetic plain is that this view was not necessarily held by all. For example one writer, Henry Douglas, argued that it was 'open to question whether education can be wisely used as a direct means of conversion at all',[139] whilst one of his colleagues wistfully remarked that it was 'a mistaken idea that education and science alone make Hindus Christian'.[140] These were significant resignations. At 1882 Educational Conference, the CMS lodged its protest against the idea held by some British educational officials of surreptitiously indoctrinating students with the Bible via science. Missionary educationists voiced their protest over how Government teachers tried very hard to use western learning to 'de-religiocisise' their students.[141] F. W. Thomas, himself involved with the Conference, offered an insightful observation. He noted that most missionaries had abandoned the hope of Hinduism crumbling under western knowledge,[142] even if the outspoken and more populist missionaries, Rev. James Johnston and John Murdoch, maintained to their wider foreign and home audiences that it would. Teachers within the educational enterprise voiced similar, general reservations. One teacher at St Stephen's pointed to the limits of the curriculum's influence: 'Bradlaugh and Huxley are names familiar to the student, but under the veneer of Western agnosticism he [the pupil, still] retains a faith of a vague pantheistic kind, rendering difficult the consciousness of personal sinfulness'.[143] The headmaster of the CMS Lucknow high school cited one Hindu student, who after a few of his Bible lessons, cited Jesus's dictum 'whatever you ask for you shall receive', he then asked why his brother was still alive, when he had prayed for his death in order to inherit his estate.[144]

One primary and insightful way to gauge the impact of the western curriculum is by looking at English literature. It was a standard component of the curriculum which Indian students read and studied. Sir William Lee-Warner, echoing the generation of Macaulay and later nineteenth-century colonial administrators, called it a useful 'moral diet'[145] for Indian students. This was an attitude shared by many British officials. Ironically, modern scholars have resuscitated this view. Gauri Viswanathan has famously argued that the usage of English education served as a clandestine substitution for Christianity in the guise of a colonial project.[146] Yet this approach is, in the end, rather glib. It has overlooked both how Indians reacted to English literature and the practicalities of actually imparting it. What we find upon a more detailed analysis of the historical evidence is that such 'imperial' pretensions petered out on the spot.

Teachers and headmasters, themselves more intimately involved with students than either Macaulay or Lee-Warner ever were, actually ascribed little value to English literature as a moralizing force. John Haythornwaite, the headmaster at St John's College, was a prime example. His views demonstrated that however high-handed the pretensions of English literature were, its reception by students was a quantitatively different story. After beginning his teachings in Agra, he was initially convinced that the works of Jane Austen, Milton, et al., were saturated with Christian ideals. Yet later on, after teaching students, his views fundamentally changed. He admitted that English literature did not necessarily correlate with what he conceived to be a Godly (and English) civil society.[147] Haythornwaite later revised his initial assessment and deemed the attempts to inculcate Christianity via English literature a failure.[148] Other missionaries made similar observations. The CMS Intelligencer for 1903 admitted that there 'are many who gain little from a purely literary course'.[149] Leonard Alston, a writer on mission affairs, was another prime example. He argued that English literature was not always religiously saturated. He believed that influential texts would include those of a more utilitarian and agnostic nature, which would suit educated Indian society.[150] He also characterized English as a secular language and argued that it was not always saturated with Christian ideals.[151]

There was also an element of class and complex social relations in this larger rubric. The ethoses of Jane Austen et al. were often more characteristic of the eliteness of Anglo-Indian and British society. It was scarcely conceivable that Jane Austen could have spent years in an Indian *taluk* (sub-district) and 'gone native', let alone immerse herself in Hindu philosophy and sacred geography. Many teachers and headmasters admitted that this mismatch was inimical to their aims and interests, for such ideal social behaviour and pretence, in theory, undermined the more egalitarian aims of missionary Christianity.[152] It also made distancing themselves from an increasingly hidebound British officialdom and Anglo-Indian society more difficult.[153]

The English course was set by the UP Department of Public Instructions. At St John's and St Stephen's, for instance, students read Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Pope's *Essay on Man*, Flint's *Theism*, and Calderwood's *Handbook of Moral Philosophy*.[154] They would have had to read these pieces to stand for examination or to obtain the School Leaving Certificate (SLC). Yet beneath the surface, Indians were not passive recipients of this knowledge. Study of the north Indian Hindi and Urdu press reveals that the pretences of Macaulay's generation and their progeny were not necessarily effective; they were actively contesting the pretences of English literature's 'moral authority'. This was, it must be stressed, no simple story of an emanation from metropole to colony. The *Hindoo Patriot* wrote that it was 'utterly unfounded' to argue that English literature was infused with Christian morals and that it was teaching Indian students the lessons of morality.[155] This was echoed by the *Zamana* newspaper of Kanpur. Its editor 'held to ridicule' the notion that English literature was responsible for the moral advancement of India; he claimed that its impact was minimal, since Indian thought and tradition already possessed similar moral lessons in the Gita and the Upanishads.[156] This was also voiced by the *Advocate* of Lucknow,[157] the *Shahna-i-Hind*[158] and the *Leader* of Allahabad.[159]

From one perspective, English literature fell victim to not only to Indian contestation, but also to the practicalities of its own impartation. There were pedagogic and structural shortcomings to actually teaching English literature. The English language needed to digest and comprehend its very literature, was in fact, poorly taught throughout a good part of the educational enterprise. Even members of the British administration admitted that English was poorly taught.[160] This compromised efforts to represent English civil society and its supposed Christian virtues. The development of teaching keys (pictorial representations as study aids), for example, offers an insightful analysis. Originally banned by the UP Education Department,[161] these keys were being produced by Indians at an alarming frequency by 1900. This was emblematic of how ineffective English instruction proved to be in many schools. Indians ran their own presses and made remunerative profits. The Advocate of Lucknow argued that it was only to be expected that Indians would produce their own keys: the Department's were lacking in both quality and quantity.[162] Indian teachers, particularly in Anglo-vernacular schools, went to extraordinary lengths to print keys and run their own businesses. This was noted at a Committee meeting in Allahabad which observed that such keys were in greater circulation than most Government textbooks[163] and that as many as six different versions had been produced within a few months of the Macmillan reader by the DPI.[164] Two special firms eventually made it their sole business and it became so profitable that it was even 'adopted as a profession'.[165] This was another example of how the colonial state often had little control over the social undercurrents of pedagogy.

Many Indian newspapers also observed that the ethoses of English literature were not necessarily digested by students, and that English-language instruction was generally of a poor quality. The *Advocate* of Lucknow, for example, noted that it was a waste to teach English novels; students held such a poor command of English that their values could not be absorbed.[166] Other newspapers such as the Citizen of Allahabad[167] criticized the Government for preventing children from learning English before the age of thirteen. Its editor argued that students should be offered English language instruction at an even earlier age.[168] Sir Alfred Croft pointed out how poor instruction in English ultimately detracted from English literature's moral lessons. He admitted to a colleague that the lessons of English novels were 'apt to be lost sight of amid the more pressing claims of grammar and chronology'.[169] English literature, moreover, was decreasingly taught in the UP curriculum towards the end of the nineteenth century. Allahabad University, significantly, abolished it as a requirement for examinations in 1900.[170] Considering this, the values and ethoses of Jane Austen had a smaller following than both the zealous evangelist Alexander Duff and modern scholars admitted.

There was also a wider dimension to the use of literature within the colonial curriculum. Concealed beneath the pretences of English literature's moralizing qualities were acute reservations over 'other' types of western literature. Here, from one perspective, the 'other' was as often French and continental as it was Indian or Oriental. The corpus of western literature encompassed a Continental and North-American-wide network of arts, letters and science – it was far more diverse than the British wanted Indian students to learn. This was a form of restrictive knowledge practised by the colonial state, which allowed the British to, vainly, represent the 'moral superiority' of the west. This unease over the wider rubric of western literature was, in turn, bound up with one significant moral underpinning of Britain's Indian empire. French or continental European material might compromise British 'moral superiority'. This exacerbated British aversions to 'other' European types of literature, particularly French works. The views of Alexander Neut, rector of St Xavier's College in Bombay, was a prime example. He argued that literature, in its widest sense, was not always healthy and influential; one could provide the 'wrong' type. Indians had access to French literature from *bookwallahs* (book sellers) in the bazaars, railways stations and urban city centres. Neut wryly noted that 'immoral literature is extremely cheap in the country and within the reach of any boy. The French novels ... are far from being remarkable for their moral tone'.[171] John Murdoch, the most unabashed and zealous missionary educationist of the time, confided that in the case of western literature some caution was necessary: 'the bookstalls on the state railways, from Calcutta to Peshawar, were leased to a firm that made French novels a speciality'.[172] Students travelling on the railways in UP had easy and cheap access to these French novels from railway sellers and merchants. Rev. James Johnston of the Christian Vernacular Education Society (CVES) wanted his students to avoid readily-available French literature due to its 'pernicious pabulum' and degenerative qualities.[173]

This complexity in imparting English literature and attitudes towards the wider body of western literature was reflected similarly in the more concrete interactions between students and their courses. Indian knowledge systems did not always, as many have argued, become slavish imitators of western ones during the nineteenth century. Students frustrated attempts to project India's systems upon a Darwinian and British-sanctioned trajectory by utilizing both western and Indian methods. Often enough, the 'reason' and 'logic' of western and scientific education did little to directly contradict students' religious and philosophical beliefs. In this respect, the popularity of mission schools and the demand for missionary instruction can partly be attributed to the vibrancy of Indian knowledge and religious systems.

For their part, teachers, professional educationists and a few government officials took note of both the limits and complexities of pedagogy as a means to radical transformation amongst the Indian body politic. One missionary, Andrew Fraser, believed that textual lessons were ineffective: 'if the most practical education is that which imparts the most numerous and the strongest motives to action, then our present curriculum is not necessarily practical at all'.[174] F. W. Thomas believed that missionaries and educationists could 'scarcely conceive of a religion falling through mere mistakes in geography'.[175] Other non-Missionary Europeans noted similarly. The neo-Orientalist of the Punjab, Gottlieb William Leitner, maintained that it would be 'ridiculous to suppose that any mere word-teaching will civilise India',[176] whilst Herbert Risley remarked that a religion which absorbed animism was 'not likely to strain at swallowing science'.[177]

Apart from these observations, students' reactions to their courses further demonstrated that the influence of western knowledge was limited. In doing so, these pupils also separated the religion of their conquerors from its civilizational scholarship and accompanying superstructures. These sentiments were verified by many mission headmasters and their students throughout mission schools. Pupils were able to hold onto supposedly 'superstitious' Hindu practices even after being schooled in the western traditions of 'modernity', 'logic' and 'rationalism'. Students drew upon Indian tradition to demonstrate that Indians possessed a degree of logic and that it was not an exclusive Christian-cum-European purview. They did not need to reconcile two apparently contradictory knowledge systems, since their religious and moral weltanschauung allowed for co-existence. There were abundant examples. Rev. Henry Durrant recalled a conversation with a former pupil who had no problem reconciling modern, western education with his religious convictions. He found that western scientific methods did little to undermine his beliefs in Puranic cosmology and geography

> 'do you believe in the proven facts of modern science with regard, for example, to the solar system'? "Yes of course I do". 'At the same time, you believe the old Hindu stories'? "Yes". 'How do you reconcile the two'? "I do not reconcile them, I accept both; they are both true, but on different planes; the one is on the spiritual, the other on the physical plane."[178]

Another CMS mission student, who went on to obtain an MA from Allahabad University, was able to reconcile post-Copernican astral sciences with Indian sacred cosmology. Even though he had no confidence in judicial astrology (*jyotishastra*), he confided to his mission teacher that he still sought the advice of an 'astrological charlatan' on auspicious days.[179] Queen Victoria, one student told George Bulloch, had a prosperous reign because in a past life she performed homage to Sita. This, rather than pioneering work of Sir Isaac Newton and Copernicus, could account for the progress of modern civilization and improvement.[180] In doing so, this student located the motors of modernity and change not within Europe but within Indian tradition. Numerous other students in SPG, CMS and LMS schools relayed to their teachers it was 'illusory' to base the foundation of Christianity upon science, logic and western reason, for Indian thought already possessed these traditions.[181] These examples were telling, for they clearly suggested that modern English education was not enacting the radical transformations of Hindu belief for which zealous educationists, select British officials and evangelicals hoped.

Interestingly, both Indians and Europeans attested that Indian students, rather than being innocent victims of the transforming capabilities of western knowledge, were able to reconcile European and Indian systems of thought. They recognized that Indian knowledge was not necessarily pliant in the face of a rationalist west. Jayarama Rau, lecturing on Christianity and western knowledge, forcibly argued that there was no genuine connection between the two. He argued that the ability of the western text to seriously transform Indian thought and philosophical systems, which were in part moral and patriotic ones, was highly exaggerated.[182] William Holland observed similarly, noting that his students 'find no difficulty in believing in contradictions. [Their] faith rises above obstacles which to the Westerner's mind are inseparable',[183] whilst Thomas Slater of the LMS observed that his students had no problem reconciling two supposedly antagonistic systems of thought.[184]

Science was one particular area where, rather than being passively subjected to the model of civilizational evolution, students and popular Indian scholars alike contested and confounded claims to inherent European superiority. Science may have been part of the British civilizing project in rhetoric, but in practice it proved different. Students and popular scholars utilized both western and Indian thought to contest these claims. One student in a mission school, a biologist, confided to his teacher than even though he was proficient in 'modern' science he still knew men who could transport themselves to the lofty mountains of the Himalayas in a matter of seconds. This student admitted that, notwithstanding the fact that western biological sciences deemed it impossible, he personally knew a Banaras Sadhu who lived purely off the city's air for twenty-odd years.[185] This student argued that western scientists were not willing to investigate such claims and challenged westerns them to investigate 'irrational' Indian religious beliefs.[186] Lessons in modern European cartography, one LMS mission teacher irritatedly observed, did little to shatter many of his students' beliefs that the sacred water of the Ganges descended from heaven, a result of Baguratha's prayers to Shiva.[187] The ethnographer of the North-western Provinces, William Crooke, also observed that traditional Hindu astrology was even popular with and believed by those educated in modern, western astronomical methods. Indian students, he reported, rarely found themselves jaundiced by a contradiction of Puranic cosmology and geography with the courses offered in schools.[188]

Numerous other popular scholars and literary figures undermined the relationship between Christianity and modern, western science. This was significant, for the larger ideological pillars of the educational enterprise were quickly coming under contestation by alert, informed and astute Indian intellectuals. Here, again, it was primarily a network of Bengali intellectuals who led this contestation. Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, the great Bengali *littérateur*, was a prime example. He admitted that Christianity and science were not intimately related. He drew upon Indian tradition, citing the worship of Brahma, Shiva and Vishnu, the main figures in Hinduism. This 'Hindu trinity', he argued, was more in accord with science and natural reason. Nature followed a pattern similar to that found in nature: creation, preservation and destruction. Therefore, Hinduism's and not Christianity's grounding in natural reason and logic was genuine, as it was founded in nature. The notion of an omnipotent and all-loving, merciful Deity, moreover, was contrary to science and to nature. Nature, created by God and inherently endowed with logic and reason, was not necessarily compassionate.[189] One only had to view the rules of the animal kingdom.

Brajendranath Seal, again, was another example of someone who tackled the relationship between Christianity and western scholarship. His *Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus*, published in 1915, he touched upon this topic and, in doing so, indirectly demonstrated that the modern science was neither all that western nor intricately related to Christianity. Seal utilized primarily Indian knowledge. He demonstrated that Newton's findings were more corrections of original Indian thought rather than inherent discoveries. What Indians could learn from the west was of a practical, rather than a theoretical nature, for the theoretical underpinnings of Newton, Halley and Copernicus, for example, were all found in Indian tradition.[190] Seal turned the notion of truth on its head, arguing that it was neither agreement between ideal (theory) and reality (empiricism), but the harmony of experience (*sambad*) that indicated when a volitional action realizes its material end.[191] Seal also argued that truth was never self-evident. There could be, moreover, two types of truths; one scientific (*vijnana*) and the other philosophical (*jnana*).[192] These two did not necessarily have to correlate, for they could exist independently of each other. In doing so, he drew upon the Prabhakara school of thought (one of the latter schools of the original six schools of Hindu thought school of thought, *darsanas*, roughly *c.* 500 BC) holding that all knowledge is valid, so long as it prompts one to activity. Here, true knowledge need not conform with reality. True knowledge could exist as autonomous and unrelated to the reality of the world.[193]

Prafalla Chandra Ray was another example of someone who contested the notion that western science was symmetrical to Christianity as premised in its logic and rationality. His treatise, *A History of Hindu Chemistry*, was published in 1905. Based at Presidency College, Calcutta he utilized western knowledge and modes of analysis in his work. Ray demonstrated that Newton's laws of motion and principles of differential calculus were not 'discoveries' in the proper sense of the word, but that they had their precursors in the work of Bashkara (*c.* fourteenth century), which had existed at a more theoretical level.[194] Newton, Ray suggested, had merely flushed out a knowledge which pre-existed in Indian tradition. Throughout his treatise he argued and contested the notion that Europe and Christianity were the sole proprietors of modern and useful science, and that many of the modern concepts and discoveries of western science had their roots in the works of Indian scholars. Ray cited Vdayana Acharya who wrote during the Vedic period (*c.* 1,500–500 BC), and who had posited a similar, theoretical understanding of gravitational forces that had merely been fleshed out by Newton. On other particulars, Ray argued that Pythagoras himself was dependent upon Indian thought and science, since his scholarship was known by Indians in 700 BC – two hundred years before the famed Greek mathematician. Ray even cited the early nineteenth-century Orientalists Horace H. Wilson and Henry T. Colebrooke, the latter the intellectual successor of Sir William Jones, both of whom supported such ideas.[195] He further argued that alchemy had significant Indian origins, with its roots in the Vedas' references to *soma* (intoxicants). This suggested that ancient Indians possessed knowledge of the science of alchemy.[196] In all, he strongly suggested that the hope of tearing Hinduism asunder via the tenets of western science was well-nigh impossible.[197]

Not only did students, saints and scholars contest the western loci of modern and supposedly 'superior' science, but as a subject in most mission schools of the educational enterprise it was rarely taught. The UP Department of Public Instruction-set curriculum, which all aided mission schools had to teach, was comparatively devoid of subjects in the sciences. This was in marked contrast to the Scottish (mainly Presbyterian) mission schools of western India,[198] where science was generally more prominent within the curriculum.[199] The curriculum of Bombay University, for example, devoted more to the sciences than other Indian universities. Calcutta, Madras and Allahabad all had markedly fewer science courses.[200] This was a general trend throughout British India, leading many Indian reformers to observe that there was no hope of scientific education sweeping Hinduism surreptitiously, since there was so little of it taught.[201] The Entrance Examination for Allahabad University, for instance, comprised of English, History & Geography, Mathematics and a classical Indian language. No subjects in the sciences were required.[202] The curriculum prescribed by the UP Education Department was heavily arts-based, prompting complaints from both missionaries and Indians alike. The School Leaving Certificate (SLC) at the High School level, for example, included English, Maths, Vernacular Language, Indian History and Geography.[203] Optional courses included an Indian classical language, Commerce, Physics & Chemistry, Physiography, Maths II, Botany, Agriculture, Drawing and the ambiguous 'Moral Training' which invited so much controversy. Most students, on the whole, did not take these courses, and instead heavily immersed themselves in the arts and humanities.

At a more general level, a reading of Indian reactions to their educational experiences strongly suggests that the effects of the western curriculum were not always transforming. Sayyid Mahmud, an English-educated Muslim, wryly admitted in his treatise, *A History of English Education in India*, that the transforming affects of western knowledge were 'too remote for practical consideration'.[204] And if students did happen to be more agnostic, Indians themselves acknowledged that this would also, ironically, make them sceptical about Christianity.[205] The Arya Samajist, Lala Baij Nath, argued that Hindus had nothing to fear from western science. Hinduism was an eternal religion (*sanatana dharma*) which accounted for the consciousness of matter, something for which western science could not. Nath also used comparative scientific and religious history to make his case. He demonstrated, fully aware of the controversy over Darwin, that the rise of science in Western Europe did not necessarily make Europeans more religious – in fact the opposite was true.[206] His contemporary, the prominent Arya Samajist and close friend of Charlie Andrews, Lajpat Rai, admitted that the analytic tendencies of modern science tended to deny God and Divine revelation.[207] At the 1882 Calcutta Missionary Conference, Ram Chunder Bose and Rev. Bannerjee pointed out that the way to influence young, educated Hindus was not through logic and science, as India already possessed a long tradition in this respect, but by appealing to the heart and conscience.[208] Even the Indian convert Nehemiah (formerly Nilakanth) Goreh admitted that Christianity cannot be endorsed and supported by reason. He came to argue that most Biblical tenets defy logic and rationality, and that Vedanta was more associated with logic and reason, whilst Christianity was premised upon faith.[209] This was all not just rhetorical polemic; it captured the truncated impact of western knowledge.

One significant by-product of this encounter, for our purposes here, was that the value of the text as an influencing tool was demoted within the educational enterprise. A careful examination of teachers' and headmasters' memoirs strongly suggests that they increasingly found pure intellectual pedagogy to be inimical to the larger aims of the educational enterprise. Rev. Charles Gill of the CMS, for example, was one who assigned a lesser role for the text as an influencing tool. He admitted after years teaching students to 'the mistake of providing instruction for the intellect alone ... [this] seems to have been abundantly proved'.[210] His colleague, Rev. Andrew Birkett, cited an instance of how a convert confided to him that his conversion was never informed by the western education he received in school, for it did not contradict the ideals of Hinduism; in the end it was his mother's influence which induced him to convert.[211] The Principal of Bishop's College, Calcutta[212] and the Bishop of Lucknow admitted that with the same curriculum taught, 'so long as the master is a Hindu such instruction is not likely to be effectual'.[213] At Ramsay College, Edward Oakley's predecessor acknowledged that much of what he taught his students in the curriculum was 'directly opposed to Christianity'.[214] And the 'pundit of Banaras, Rev. William Hooper, remarked that the purported Christianizing influences of western scholarly books and pamphlets, which were flooding the Gangetic plain during the nineteenth century, were not radically transforming Hinduism. Its philosophy operated on a different plane, which Europeans, he admitted, had only barely begun to understand.[215] Here, Europeans and not Indians were 'behind'.

This is not to argue that the system of education introduced by the British had no effect upon students at all. Some students did become religiously jaundiced and traumatized. Yet what does emerge from the historical evidence, is that these were a small number. Moreover, when students' religious convictions were jarred it had usually more to do with the absence of religious instruction rather than the 'demolishing' effects of western knowledge. Mission principals and teachers observed that the actual absence of religious teaching made students agnostic and rebellious. Andrew Fraser cited numerous students who could recite western works verbatim, but still hold to their 'superstitious' Hindu traditions and beliefs. It was the absence of religious teaching, most missionary educationists maintained, which turned young, impressionable students into agnostics.[216] Here, Government schools were considered the prime culprits The 1873 Missionary Conference at Allahabad found that education did not contradict Hindu religious tenets. What it did come to realize, however, was that since religion was ignored, students were led to believe that is was somewhat unimportant. One teacher colourfully likened it to 'teaching a wicked man to wield more skilfully and effectively a powerful sword'.[217]

Metaphysics and Logic: the Ascendancy of Influence and Affective Knowledge

As we have seen, the educational enterprise encountered vibrant and alert Indian knowledge systems. One significant by-product of this interaction was that the text – as a pedagogical tool – was devalued within the educational enterprise. By the 1870s and 1880s, teachers and headmasters resigned themselves to the fact that the text and curriculum were ineffectual in enacting any significant religious transformations amongst their students. Consequently, what made instruction effective was not pedagogy per se, but the personal influence a headmaster or teacher could bring to bear upon students. This meant knowledge was becoming less cognitive and reflective, and more affective. Pedagogy increasingly relied more upon universal, emotional and personal means, which were not always rational and 'scientific'. The sciences of metaphysics and logic, long used to prove the supposed superiority of Christianity as seen in the writings of Hegel and others,[218] became increasingly irrelevant to mission schools. This marginalization of the text as a pedagogic tool was coupled with the rise of affective knowledge within the educational enterprise. Personal influence steadily became the most effective way to influence students. If any impression was to be made, it was to be a practical one, which students could see working before their very eyes. In doing so, mission schools here imparted and engendered their own versions of 'affective knowledge'.[219] All education could do, under the influence of Christian teachers, was to moralize through personal influence. This was an example of how affective knowledge was coming to characterise the network of mission schools across the Gangetic plain.

Missionary attitudes and practices strongly suggest that many of them were reverting to more personal, non-textual forms of influence. The SPG reported that mere texts could not convey supposedly 'Christian' truths, for it could '[only] come to men's souls through personality' and human interaction.[220] One missionary writer to The Pioneer maintained that 'the seat of true religion is in the emotions and not in the intellect'.[221] Rev. John Warren, working in CMS schools in Jabalpur, found after years of interaction with students that it was neither the curriculum nor text, but the teacher who made a school influential.[222] The CMS Educational Committee in 1905 observed that

> book knowledge, intellectual ability, the power to conduct controversy, are all most valuable. But much more than these are needed. The Missionary ... who knows how to come into personal touch with his students will do infinitely more.[223]

These sentiments were also echoed further west in Marathi country. The Bishop of Bombay and Archbishop Porter both argued that texts alone were unlikely to produce any effect upon its readers: 'they would be useless in the hands of a bad master and practically superfluous in the case of a good teacher'.[224] They both cited the 'notorious' example of Madras Christian College, where four hours of Bible instruction per week, did little to prevent severe breaches of discipline and 'unsavoury' after-class lifestyles.[225]

The efficacy of affective knowledge itself, however, was ultimately pillared upon demographics. Pedagogy was only effective depending upon the teacher's religious identity. This was fundamentally bound up with the demographics of the entire educational enterprise. This meant that a Hindu or Muslim teaching a supposedly 'Christian' canon, such as Spencer, could never exercise the same influence as a Christian. Character and example, not course content, were more effective in changing students' religious and philosophical convictions. William Gray, for example, noted that in the CMS Jai Narain's School (Banaras), Hindu and Christian teachers covered similar subjects, but that the former's influence was neutral. The same classes with a Christian teacher, he argued, would have a positive influence.[226] Real missionary influence, he reported, was to be found not in textbooks but in 'the attractiveness of a consistent Christian life'.[227] This was something which missionaries disparagingly believed could only be demonstrated by Christians. William Holland also maintained that courses did little to influence Indian students: 'the history of educational missions has shown that no ... syllabus, however perfect, can be counted on to compass the conversion of India's students'.[228] Only an exemplary life and attitude could illuminate Christianity and possibly lead students away from Hinduism and Islam.[229] The 1904 UP CMS Conference offers a telling insight into these changing dynamics. It resolved that the two factors which gave a school a missionary (and hence 'effective') character were having a resident missionary headmaster and sufficient leisure time for personal intercourse with students.[230] The curriculum was not even mentioned.[231] John Carpenter, who taught at St John's, called Christianity 'no theological system which can be grasped by the intellect', as it could only influence though example.[232] This was also echoed by missionaries in the LMS, who argued that 'no mere translation of a Western book, however excellent, can go far as to influence the people of India'.[233] And perhaps most tellingly, the famed Indian convert and headmaster of St Stephen's, Sushil Rudra, argued that missionary influence could only be affective if students saw it for themselves:

'the younger generation of India can only understand [our message] ... by seeing it lived in their very midst'.[234]

The centrality of affective knowledge was buttressed by the close relationships teachers formed with their students. Many teachers and headmasters developed friendships with their students, staying in touch through post and less frequently via the telegraph. Many students dropped in to pay their former teachers visits after their courses ended and, usually, after securing a form of employment. The principal of the LMS high school in Banaras, was told by a local Hindu that mission schools were far more influential than bazaar preaching ever could be, because missionaries fostered close friendships and contacts with their students.[235] Their zest for such personal dialogue and interaction was what made the missionary education enterprise. Henry Durrant observed that 'often the men who oppose you bitterly in the bazaar preaching will welcome a friendly visit from a Missionary, and show a completely different side in the quiet of private conversation'.[236] Durrant, amongst others, was often invited to his students' homes and met networks of expanded families, forming relationships which transcended community and locality.[237]

A few examples of particular Indian converts do much to underscore the role of affective knowledge within the educational enterprise. Binod Ghose was one such case. He attended the CMS high school at Banaras, and during Ghose's tenure his teacher, Rev. Charles Baumann, keenly observed that the school's courses did not make, as he put it, 'any deep impression upon his mind'.[238] But he observed that the Headmaster of the school, another Bengali convert, G. C. Bose, exercised far more influence over him than anything else. He befriended Ghose and answered his questions regarding spirituality, God, and Christianity; they became close friends and confidants. Ghose was about to convert, and was ready to leave his community to join the *mithar* (north Indian sweeper caste) communities which lay on the outskirts of Banaras. But he was dissuaded from conversion by his fellow students.[239] He then retracted on his pledge to convert. But what was more significant – and relevant – here, was that Ghose only converted years after he left school. Baumann fairly deduced that the lessons could not have induced him towards conversion, and attributed his conversion squarely with the school's Indian headmaster.[240] Most conversions amongst students, which were already rare, followed this trajectory. Students usually went through ten of fifteen years before they returned to their erstwhile schoolmasters, usually in a state of spiritual distress. There were other telling examples. One of the CMS's more famed converts, a Muslim, Imad al-Din, never attended a mission school but in fact went to the Government Normal School in Lahore.[241] Another highly-famed and celebrated CMS convert, Jan Dullah (later Dilawar Masih), never even attended school.[242]

Conclusion

Throughout, this chapter has focused on the role of 'knowledge' within the educational enterprise. In particular, it has stressed how the larger ideological underpinning of the enterprise, mainly forced connections between Christianity and Hinduism was ultimately contested by popular scholars and students themselves. In doing so, a wider intellectual – and in turn – patriotic debate over the origins of Hinduism revealed that India already possessed traditions of logic, rationality and reason. This served to vitiate one of the main pillars of the educational enterprise. This chapter has also accounted for the specific interactions between western knowledge and Indian religiosity on the spot. Students' and popular scholars' readings of western knowledge and the government-set curriculum were also instructive. They demonstrated that neither was the corpus of western knowledge (as transmitted via the government-set curriculum) effective in transforming students' religious convictions, nor did it buttress the very superiority of Christianity which missionaries championed. These challenges, effectively, vivisected the religion of India's conquerors from its larger cultural and scholarly superstructures. Yet these intellectual debates on religion were also, in turn, political and ultimately patriotic ones. These converged with the decline of pedagogical and curricular knowledge within the educational enterprise. This latter process forced schools to focus on personal intercourse and affective knowledge. Consequently, social and political concerns would come to characterize the interactions between teachers and pupils. This ascendancy of affective knowledge was, in turn, ultimately bound up with Indian patriotism and nationalism. One of the main purposes of the remaining chapter is to explore the significant, and very patriotic dynamics and undertones at work within the educational enterprise.

6 MAINTAINING MISSIONARY INFLUENCE: NATIONALISM, POLITICS AND THE RAJ *c.* 1870–1920

One theme throughout this research has been the inefficacy of pedagogic methods in influencing Indian students and their religious convictions. By the end of the nineteenth century, the utility and effects of western knowledge upon Indian religions were, from one perspective, somewhat limited. This greatly shaped both the educational enterprise's efficacy and its ultimate orientation. On significant by-product of this development was that teachers and headmasters were increasingly concerning themselves with non-pedagogic issues – forms of affective knowledge. These concerns were, in turn, social and political ones. The most important manner in which affective knowledge manifested itself within the educational enterprise was in its interactions with Indian nationalism and patriotism. Missionaries, as we have seen, possessed far more intimate cultural and religious knowledge than the British themselves. This put them in a unique and ambiguous situation. And perhaps unsurprisingly, their attitudes towards the development of Indian nationalism were in many instances much more positive and engaging than that of India's increasingly reactionary colonial masters. The primary aim of this chapter is to explore the roles of Indian patriotism and nationalism, and their relationships with issues of pedagogy and residential space.

In doing so, this section also seeks to expand our understanding of the early 1900s and 1910s which, as Carey Watt has argued,[1] have largely been viewed as 'quiet' and in abeyance between the outbreak of *swadeshi* agitation in 1905 and Gandhi's launching of Non-Cooperation in 1920. Upon closer inspection, much of the influence, building blocks and missionary impact on a wider Indian patriotism were laid during these crucial decades. The educational enterprise, for its part, played a largely unrecognized and precursory role in the run-up to the more 'official emergence' of Indian nationalism after 1920.

One significant by-product of this engagement and interaction was the development of a strikingly secular orientation of the education enterprise. A theistic-type of religious tolerance was seen in the realities of multi-religious classrooms and residencies. This was as much a precondition as it was a by-product of the convergence of missionary aims, means, infrastructural shortcomings and Indian contestations of knowledge. One part of the development of this Indian form of secularism, within classrooms and hostels, was greatly informed by the interaction between students and missionaries. The educational enterprise was a vehicle for the development of religiously-plural, almost secular ethoses. Yet this was not, it must be stressed, simply because missionaries willed it. It also relied heavily upon Indian contributions.

South Asian historiography has acquired an immensely sophisticated history of nationalism. It almost goes without saying, that the most successful of all anti-colonial nationalisms is now seen as far more variegated than the evolution and culmination of an intellectual and political elite's aspirations. Recent studies have further questioned the idea that Indian nationalism can be gauged by its more official emergence. Peering beneath the surface and highlighting the importance of patriotism. Carey Watt, for example, has shed light upon the educational and social service activities of the Arya Samaj and other groups, which were in turn, exercises in patriotism. These movements were all transpiring before the formal onset of nationalist mobilization in 1920.[2] Raja Kanta Ray has also recently highlighted a long, pre-existing strand of Indian patriotism.[3] These have both highlighted the importance of patriotism which still, unfortunately for our historical literature, has persisted in being somewhat subsumed by the larger teleology of nationalism. One main aim of this chapter is to build upon and contribute towards our understanding of Indian nationalism by examining the role of patriotism within the context of education.

Student Hostels in the Emergence of Late Colonial Education

Affective knowledge was crucial for the educational enterprise. One factor which underscored the centrality of this knowledge was the student hostel. Given the infrastructural shortcomings which detracted from the aims of the educational enterprise, the student hostel offered the very personal (and elusive) interaction which missionaries sought. This interaction was, more importantly, ultimately bound up with a nascent post-embryonic Indian political consciousness. Simply put, this reflected the missionaries' own agenda: expressing sympathy with Indian nationalism would benefit their own evangelical causes. This needs to be duly emphasized. Most of India's future, dominant political class, as both missionaries and British administrators were aware, would be English-educated. The environment of the residential system, as mission teachers saw it, was to serve as a template wherein their own vision of a future India could be engendered. This was especially true considering that student numbers, particularly in Allahabad, Kanpur, Banaras and Lucknow, and numerous other localities in the Gangetic north, were rising out of proportion to the hostels which could be supplied by Government. Many Government lodgings were in poor condition,[4] and missionaries saw an opportunity to increase their own influence. Hostels were also used, importantly, to gain time lost during the throes of classwork and examination preparation. This was ultimately bound up with the infrastructural shortcomings of the entire educational enterprise.

The movement towards a more prominent residential system was certainly given an impetus by an overstretched colonial educational system, concerned about countenancing the 'immorality' of students and keeping watch on them.[5] But the proliferation of hostels was equally shaped by an acute Indian demand for English and Anglo-Vernacular education. All over the Gangetic plain, an increasing student population stimulated an acute demand for beds, desks and latrines. One way to meet what seemed to be a never-abating and exponentially-increasing demand was to establish and maintain hostels attached either to mission schools or in urban locales next to Government colleges and high schools. With a burgeoning student population, especially in core cities such as Allahabad, Lucknow, Kanpur and Banaras, mission schools understood that hostels were required to bring as many students under their influence as possible; they were the most effective way of reaching students and commanding their attention. Otherwise, mission schools would be robbed of their prime and likely only opportunity to have regular contact. As early as 1893, Henry Durrant warned that 'if our educational work is to grow prosperous, the question of accommodation for [Hindu and Muslim] students will have to be faced'.[6] The total expansion of mission hostels after 1900 was significant, the number of boys' mission hostels and lodgers nearly doubling in the short span of five years

Table 19: The growth of mission hostels in the United Provinces, 1903–8:[7]

	1903	**1908**
Boys Hostels	270	401
No. of Boarders	6,875	12,577
Girls Hostels	32	43
No. of Boarders	2,211	3,228

This was a prime example of missionaries clearly responding to and working with Indian demand. The growth was explosive and significant. More importantly, missionaries hurriedly rushed to construct hostels across the Gangetic plain and to keep apace of this demographic mushrooming. Here, they drew upon local and home subscriptions, and a small amount of Departmental support. The CMS, for example, ran numerous hostels in the United Provinces. By 1911, they ran large, major residencies in Agra, Allahabad, Banaras, and Sikanderabad.[8] A grant of Rs. 3,000 was earmarked by the SPG that very year for the construction of a Hindu and Muslim student hostel to be attached to Kanpur College.[9] The SPG opened a student hostel in that same city for Muslim and Hindu boys (1889) attached to Christ Church College and one in Lucknow for Hindus and Muslims that same year.[10]

In the midst of this rush, their potential to influence students was quickly and easily realized. George Westcott of the SPG observed that they were far more effective than the traditional classroom setting. He 'regard[ed] it as perhaps the most effective part of our work [in] ... influencing intelligent young men who are for the time being removed from the counter-influence at home',[11] whilst his colleague Rev. John Challis admitted that 'we shall never hold our own without some boarding house for [students].[12] Missionaries were also aware that if they did not prove able to accommodate students, especially when Government hostels were expanding rapidly, then mission schools would be hard pressed to retain students. This was another example of the moulding pressures of market education. Students possessed a keen awareness of the wider educational market, and many concluded that schools without lodgings were unstable and, in turn, relatively undistinguished if the school's hollow finances were laid bare to the public.

There was also a gender aspect to all this. Women's hostels, significantly, were also on the rise. Although they were around one-tenth of the total number of those for boys, the educational enterprise nevertheless managed to get some 4,000 females in their hostels.[13] This was remarkable, considering that the Department of Public Instruction did little to provide for female residencies. Most of the UP Department of Public Instruction's energies were directed towards often futile efforts at promoting *zenana* education in the 'stoutly conservative' Gangetic heartland. Directors such as Claude de la Fosse, William Boutflower and Richard Griffths all reported on the severe difficulty of getting Indian men to allow their daughters to live in a residential, academic hostel.[14] Missionaries, by contrast, were not only more highly involved in the education of Indian women,[15] but also in accommodating them within the orbit of a residential student life. This was another example of how deeply engaged missionary educationists were with Indian society, compared with their ruling racial kin.

William Holland was one of the strongest advocates of such hostel work. His residency in Allahabad, the Oxford and Cambridge Hostel, was one of the most prominent and popular in north India. It officially opened in 1903, having operated haphazardly during the previous three years. The hostel proved extremely popular with students from mission schools and particularly from Government ones such as Muir College. He argued that hostels offered 'the most permanent, effective and far-reaching basis for student work',[16] and that

> a day system can never influence the boys in a way that the boarding school can ... however perfectly a day school may be organised, and however much we may scheme to see much of the boys out of school hours, it is clear that we cannot have the same grip on the boys and influence their character as in a boarding hostel.[17]

This was not only a testimony to the inefficacy of colonial pedagogy, but also of the catching-up missionaries had to constantly play. In a way, it was a salvage operation. Other teachers similarly reflected this changing preoccupation with lodgings and affecting students. The 1900 CMS Conference in UP, for example, championed the unique opportunity that hostels offered in 'getting to know' students. Such access, its delegates observed, was effectively unrivalled. Gregory Gill observed that 'nine months experience of Hostel work amongst students in Allahabad shows that the Hostel method is the best for reaching Indian students'.[18] When Rev. Andrew Tubbs was dispatched to work in Allahabad with resident students, the CMS Committee hoped for promising results in the 'land [where] the relationship between the teacher and the pupil is a remarkably strong one'.[19] Tubbs, for his part, drew upon Indian tradition, citing the historical relationship between the *guru* (teacher) and his *chela*s (students).

At the same time, there were other acute, financial realities which hastened the proliferation of student hostels. For societies such as the CMS, LMS and SPG, which already were financially stretched and under-funded, such residencies were cost-effective. Teachers commanded more attention and influence within the confines of a hostel, with its significantly lesser expenses, than in the classroom with its gamut of costs. For example, the main cost of a hostel included the salary of the resident missionary and the upkeep of the building. This was in contrast to multiple salaries and equipment, which were required to meet Department standards. Hostels, moreover, required little or no assistance from the Department, except in the erection of a new building. Labour and construction costs were also relatively small compared to salaries and the physical capital required in classrooms – mainly chalkboards, desks, chairs, textbooks and, increasingly, rudimentary scientific equipment. The Oxford and Cambridge Hostel in Allahabad, for instance, was funded entirely from a small amount of mission funds and was much cheaper than running a day school.[20] Its Warden, Holland, remarked satisfiedly that it 'has not cost the Society a farthing, except the living allowances of the missionary staff', and further observed that they were the cheapest form of mission work in India.[21] And when the Government did meet the cost for such hostels, they were decidedly cheap for missions. For example, Rev. William Sido ran the Pahari Boarding House, which cost the CMS nil and the Department a mere Rs. 143 annually.[22]

Even though missionaries were party to much of the colonial education system's tendencies to 'de-personalize' pedagogy, they seriously attempted to rectify them. During school hours, pupils were preoccupied with their lessons, and mission teachers realized that hostels were a 'healthy' corrective. It was also seen as an intricate component of the rubric of missionary education. One missionary remarked that 'the hostel is quite essential to the scheme [of mission education]'.[23] George Westcott informed the Department that he need 'hardly to enlarge upon the advantages of such a hostel in the formation of character, and the promotion of a healthy public spirit ... we know what kind of difficulties hamper the progress of day scholars'.[24] Such views were shared by his SPG, CMS and LMS peers. The Bishop of Lucknow, for example, stated that 'if Hindus and Mohammedan students in our Mission Colleges are to be influenced morally and spiritually it is ... essential that the Missionaries should have the opportunity of coming into contact with them outside the classroom ... [and] living under the same roof'.[25] Hostels were an excellent way to bridge this increasing divide. They would make the relationship more mentor- than lecture-based. William Holland grew increasingly aware of the growing gap between student and teacher.[26] Overly-pedagogic relationships, he reasoned, needed to be kept to a minimum; teachers should 'be free from other work, [and] be constantly accessible to the men'.[27] This was significant, for it also demonstrated that the entire colonial system of pedagogy in India was multifarious, inconsistent and lacked a clear, guiding objective

These hostels were significant, for the few main examples, at St Stephen's, St John's and the Oxford and Cambridge Hostel, Allahabad, were all relatively prominent institutions. They housed some of the finest, most politically, socially and religiously well-connected students in the educational enterprise, with networks connecting vernacular presses, Hindu temples, some Sufi shrines and the lower tiers of government. These students not only attended mission schools but also more prominent Government institutions such as Canning College (Lucknow) and Muir College (Allahabad). Many of them, their wardens and teachers reported, entered employment in the lower tiers of colonial administration as clerks, educational inspectors, and even magistrates. This connected the educational enterprise with a network of English-educated Indians and the sinews of local municipalities and the Department of Public Instruction's fanned-out administration.

Constructive Nationalism and Hostels as Centres of Patriotic, Affective Knowledge

The residential system was, partly, a by-product of the educational enterprise's inherent deficiencies and dynamics. Yet these mission hostels also neatly meshed with a wider trajectory of Indian political development and consciousness. These residencies operated with a clear foresight of the future. Teachers and headmasters were unduly aware that their students would constitute India's future political 'classes'. This was one of the main reasons why they mushroomed after 1905. Fully cognizant of this, and combined with their marked inability to convert students, the enterprise engendered a mentality which was more concerned with exerting influence rather than nominal religious change. This needs to be duly emphasized. Missionaries' effectiveness would be significantly more manageable were they to sympathetically engage with Indian nationalism. One primary way to do this was via the hostel. This was another example of how missionary methods were shaped and changed by the colonial context and Indian social realities.

Hostels and missionaries responded to student activism and Indian political developments, above all, in a constructive manner. In doing so, these residencies unwittingly undertook their own forms of constructive nationalism.[28] Curiously, few historians have paid attention to the social histories of hostels. David Lelyveld, for one, has documented the role of hostel life in fostering solidarity and a patriotic identity amongst north Indian Muslims.[29] Harald Fischer-Tiné[30] has shed light upon the Gurukul School and hostel at Kangri and the use of domestic residential space in citizenship and patriotism. These are useful studies, but they had the unwitting effect of reifying the limited and simplistic distinction between Hindu and Muslim which the colonial state did so much to encourage. This section aims to cast a wider net and demonstrate how mission hostels transcended community, caste and religion in a vain Christocentric effort. If Government policy held that hostels should be carefully monitored,[31] missionaries allowed their lodgers to run hostel finances, monitoring and self-government committees, and general administrative bodies. This was significant, for the desire to influence India's upcoming generation had as much to do with the importance of nation-building and maximizing missionary influence, as it did with the demographic realities of their hostels. Hostels therefore unwittingly engendered a strong sense of religious plurality, theism, and, at times, humanistic morality. These were all forms of constructive nationalism, to which both missionaries and Indians contributed. Hostels were centres which had notions of space and assembly meeting points. These encouraged (slightly) new understandings of caste relations and affective knowledge.

One of the main reasons why hostels acquired a significant place within the educational enterprise was due to the influence they could exercise upon a rising, English-educated generation. This was very much a chronological convergence. There was an acute, guiding political component to this. India's future political class and challengers to British rule would (and did) certainly receive an English or at least an Anglo-vernacular education. Many missionaries pleaded that hostels, as part of the pedagogic experience, must 'be allowed to have a hand in the moulding of character of the men who, by their superiority of morale – a morale developed by the life and training and discipline of the Hostel – must be leaders of their country'.[32] This comment by Holland demonstrated a remarkable degree of foresight. Given the clear inability of education to alter their students' religious convictions, missionaries decided to exert their influence through the formation of *charitra* (character). This was largely to compensate for the inability of the educational enterprise to enact significant, nominal religious change. Largely it was emblematic of missionary relentlessness and desperation. But it was equally representative of the inherent deficiencies of pedagogy. Of course, missionary views as to what constituted 'character' were certainly patronizing and slightly disparaging. But this is no more significant than the means by which they went about engendering it. What is most significant is that in the process of doing so, teachers and headmasters played a part in the wider field of constructive nation-building which characterized the 1900 to 1920 period.

Most teachers sensed a unique, formative opportunity for influencing students in light of their rising political consciousness. This was significant, for it demonstrated how closely missionaries had their fingers on the pulse of Indian society. Rev. Charles Gill of the CMS, for example, felt the need to 'strike while the iron is hot',[33] and saw hostels as 'possibilities for character-training and nation-building such as never before existed'.[34] There was a clear sense of opportunism and timing. William Holland also sensed this opportunism, being based in one of the main centres of student activity – Allahabad. To him, the residential system was central in influencing the future political leaders of India. He cited the fact that Allahabad was the educational centre of the United Provinces, and that with over 3,000 students it was ideally located to serve as a future political centre in north India.[35] It was moreover a centre of Congress political activity and organization in north India, with links between the city and the wider north Indian socio-political landscape. He asked himself 'what must be the character of the educated classes ... the men who will make India's history?'[36] He believed that the hostel's ability to influence students rested entirely upon personal, non-pedagogic factors.[37] The marginal importance of pedagogy to missionary aims was clear here. Most hostel wardens, significantly, laid more importance upon the necessity of Christian influence than Christian religiosity to India's future. One significant consequence of this was that educationists championed Indian cultural and religious traits – rather than treat them as timeless, unchanging traits or wishing to disparagingly Anglicize them. Holland even pleaded to critics that 'will not a reformed Hinduism, re-understood in the light of modern advance, give India what she wants? Must India be de-Hinduised – which means to be de-Indianised?'[38] This was a telling admission of the limits of missionary Christianity and also, more importantly, how Indian social and religious realities were shaping their educational experiences.

Another way in which hostels served as centres of constructive nationalism was through their attempts to engender religious and caste plurality in an educational system which was largely dominated by Brahmans. Teachers and headmasters saw this diversity as not only essential for India's future, but also, more significantly, necessary in order to maximize missionary influence. This can be seen in the way in which hostels arranged their students' living quarters and domestic space. For instance, the hostels at one of the most popular mission schools in north India, St John's, were religiously segregated before 1905.[39] Yet after Curzon's high-handed partition of Bengal along largely Hindu and Muslim lines, the college had the hostels desegregated. This was no coincidence, for the mission staff and wider missionary community were clearly and constructively responding to larger political changes. And even before 1905, the Muslim and Hindu students from their respective hostels regularly shared communal meals and activities.[40] This was encouraged by the college teaching staff. Most other smaller mission hostels also similarly had residencies which took in Hindus, Muslims and Indian Christians. Caste was another factor which entered the orbit of missionary hostels. Mission hostels contributed to changing perceptions and contestations of caste. This was a debate which, as Susan Bayly has demonstrated, was central to Indian debates on nationhood.[41] Early and mid-nineteenth-century missionary derision of caste and Brahmanism as the 'work of the devil' did create an ideological raison d'être-in theory, it made the transmission and acceptance of Christianity easier. The late colonial educational enterprise, by contrast, had shelved the abrasive rhetoric but continued its assault on caste in more subtle and hidden ways.

First, a comparison with the direct government-run educational system is necessary. Hostels had already existed within the Government system of education. Canning College (Lucknow), Muir College (Allahabad) and numerous other colleges in UP had residencies established in the late nineteenth century to accommodate a burgeoning student population. These residencies tended to be more homogeneous and were usually organized along caste lines. Here, British education officials usually acquiesced to the demands of Brahmans, Rajputs and Kayasthas, usually out of a fear of upsetting caste sensibilities.[42] This had the effect, to a degree, of reaffirming caste distinction, understandings and practice. Missionaries, however, were insistent that their hostels included diverse members of the Indian community. They were markedly different in their organization of student space. This was admitted by many Government officials. The UP Director of Public Instruction, Claude de la Fosse, reported that mission hostels were successful in being more caste-diverse than Government lodges; he characterized the latter as caste-houses.[43] Mission hostels, moreover, were usually attached to multiple schools. This was instructive, for it gave them access to a larger pool of students from which to recruit. Many students from state-run schools such as Muir College, for example, stayed in mission hostels, and in particular at the city's Oxford and Cambridge Hostel.

There were numerous examples of how mission hostels contributed to an ongoing debate on caste through the corporate and social life of common living arrangements. This might seem, at first glance, as if missionaries attempted to transplant their knowledge and experience of English public schools lodgings at Dulwich, Charterhouse and Epsom, onto Indian soil. The reality, upon closer inspection, is that it was far from a simple imposition. Indians moulded the system from within. Here, understandings of what constituted *varna* and *jati* were not radically challenged by mission institutions but were subtly altered by both students and missionaries. This is important to emphasize. Any change in caste practice within mission hostels was usually more incremental and piecemeal, rather than revolutionary. Missionaries did hope that hostels would chip away at 'caste feeling' and make Christianity, in theory, more acceptable. Holland, for example, maintained that 'few things can so effectively cure the selfishness natural to life under caste restriction ... as this hostel spirit'.[44] The Warden of St John's hostel in 1911, Rev. Arthur Davis, hoped that 'all religious distinctions may be so regulated as to permit of free social intercourse at a common table ... it is not the function of a Christian College to perpetuate caste restrictions, but rather to promote the Brotherhood of Man'.[45] Yet at the same time, Indians contributed towards these debates and changing interactions. Davis, for example, observed that Indian Christians were now taking their meals with Hindu and Muslim students in the latter's hostel, something that would have been unthinkable thirty years ago, and hardly recognizable, he lamented, in Government lodges.[46] After the hostel's Social-Literary club performed 'Silas Marner' in the summer of 1910, the following dinner saw Brahmans mixing with Indian Christians, Kshatriyas, Muslims and a few *chamar* students.[47] In particular, they shared food and tea.[48] In fact, word about the dining arrangements spread so quickly that rumours even began to circulate in the city's bazaar that they were all planning to convert.[49] Holland's Allahabad hostel affords another example. It admitted its largest pool of lodgers in 1911, a relatively polyglot mix including Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Rajputs, Muslims, Indian Christians,[50] and even fourteen lodgers from the Rohilkand hills the following year.[51] Even though thirty-six out of the hostel's initial fifty boarders were Brahmans, there was a smattering of untouchable converts to Christianity.[52] Holland's students, who having lived in the bazaars, informed him that they usually had separate kitchens in which to prepare their food, but in his hostel, there was one kitchen, from which everyone ate.[53] At the 1909 annual social gathering, there was free intermingling. The dining table included Rev. N. Tubbs, three Brahmans, two Kayasthas, two Muslims and three *bhangi* (sweeper caste) converts.[54] Lodgers themselves were also, at times, decidedly more progressive in gender relations than some missionaries. John Haythornwaite's hostel residents from St John's, for example, arranged their own 'high table', inviting Haythornwaite, three European men and four

European women.[55] This led him to comically remark that he was reminded of a Cambridge dinner, 'except that Cambridge is not so advanced as to invite ladies to the "Don's" table'![56]

Importantly, the educational enterprise found itself having to confront student political consciousness and agitation in wake of the *swadeshi* movements after 1905. Hostels inevitably encountered this development as students were alert to political developments via the vernacular press, bazaar channels of information and English-language papers. Government hostels, for example, were centres of student congregation, where they could plan protests, organize boycotts and, at the most extreme, plan terrorist activities. In a way, it was perhaps no surprise that many British officials in both the Indian Government and Parliament referred to hostels as 'nurseries of seditious unrest'.[57] Yet what is more surprising is that mission hostels engendered constructive nationalism in the face of these more palpable and energizing political developments.

The Risley Circular, issued in 1907, is one prime example which connected the sphere of education with politics. This was one way in which missionaries felt they could legitimize their message in the face of hidebound British policies. The circular, drafted by Sir Herbert Risley, in charge of the Indian Census operations (1901 and 1911) and Secretary to the Indian Government, was an obvious response to the *swadeshi* agitations, particularly directed against students in Bengal. It required government and aided schools to forbid students and teachers from discussing politics; it was primarily focused on 'seditious' student activity in hostels and residencies. Schools in receipt of Government money found to be engaging in political discussion could have their grants revoked. This meant the educational enterprise fell under the legislation's gaze. Yet this did not necessarily mean that teachers blindly followed Departmental directives. They were aware of their indispensability and utilized their positions to engage their students in constructive political discussion. The staff at St Stephen's College, more famously, ignored the circular and came under criticism for being 'seditious and politically disloyal' to the Government and the King.[58] Yet beneath the surface, numerous other mission hostels similarly ignored the Circular. The Debating Society at St John's[59] and the CMS Lucknow high school's[60] hostels, two of the more prominent and urban based residencies in north India, were encouraged to discuss political issues both before and after the agitations of 1905. Other hostel managers ignored the circular. At the LMS high school in Bhawanipur, Rev. A. Warren ignored the Risley Circular and spoke to his students in the form of a public lecture, on 'The Kind of Men India Needs'. His speech addressed the aftermath of the Bengal partition and what his students could do for the country's political future.[61] Warren was clearly flouting the Government's authority here. Rev. Henry Tubbs, like others, admitted that nationalist sentiment was sometimes ill-informed and crude (what some called anti-*videshi*ness, 'anti-foreignness') but this did not prevent him from offering a constructive alternative. Tubbs was asked by a Brahman lodger how he could serve his country. The student wished to go into law and become a barrister, but Tubbs encouraged him to do something more patriotic: to enter politics.[62] Rev. Henry Durrant similarly acknowledged that nationalism could be anti-foreign, but he nevertheless called it 'a matter for rejoicing'[63] since he saw that his residents were 'beginning to be proud of [their] nationality'.[64] There were further points of dissent. After the *swadeshi* agitations, the British wanted to install monitors into all hostels which were either publicly-run or aided. But most CMS educationists (including, most famously, Archbishop Porter of Bombay) protested against such interference and lobbied the government against the plan. If Government hostels were mostly preoccupied with keeping a lid on their students' political aspirations and sentiments, mission hostels, instructively, allowed for political debate. William Holland, for example, began a small form of civic and political encouragement by attaching an institute to his hostel which would serve as a leisure centre and common room. It was stocked with books and magazines and served as a social nervous centre for the hostel. With weekly lectures on current political, social and scientific issues; it also included leisure activities such as chess, bridge, and tennis.[65] This tapped into larger intellectual, social and political currents at a pan-Indian level and encouraged amongst his lodgers, he observed after the 1905 stirrings, 'a good thing'[66] which he called Indian patriotism. Edward Oakley himself admitted that although he was no politician, he thought it better and more constructive to encourage discussions of political topics amongst his students at Ramsay College, rather than, like British officialdom, repress them (*à la* the Risley Circular).[67]

Mission hostels, upon closer inspection, also practised what effectively amounted to micro-exercises in self-government and management. This was another small but effective example of both patriotism and constructive nationalism, much of which was outside the knowledge of British and Department officialdom. Holland, for example, justified these exercises with one goal in mind: preparing his students for an independent India *highly* influenced by evangelical ideals. In fact, most teachers realized that Indian independence was inevitable, and understood that they would have to exert their influence however they could. Largely this was a salvage operation. Holland's hostel, again, offers a perfect example. Its boarders were, at his insistence, allowed to elect their own prefects. The prefect's responsibilities included taking the daily roll call, enforcing the general rules and regulations, communicating between students and the Warden, and even arranging for domestic servants for married boarders.[68] Students themselves were also allowed to become prefects, elect their own captains, run select finance committees, and organize social functions. They even served as the General Secretary and General Treasurer of the Hostel.[69] In effect, the lodgers ran the hostel on their own, causing Holland to remark in his CMS report on mission hostels that 'the internal economy and discipline of the hostel is almost entirely in their hands'.[70] He observed with satisfaction that it was 'moving to mark the growth in character ... through the training of a prefectship or an athletic captaincy, [they] are becoming men of grit, with a sense of principle and responsibility'. This was, he reported, to prepare them for a future political sphere.[71] Perhaps the testimony of a former lodger is most telling. This student wrote to the *Oxford and Cambridge Hostel Magazine*, claiming that the school 'taught me to work disinterestedly without a selfish motive for anything, especially in the work of a public cause'.[72] This was a reflection of schools' secularizing tendencies and preoccupation with social and civic matters and, more significantly, their increasingly non-religious orientation. This was also mirrored in the other main, reputable hostel in north India: at St John's College, Agra. Their hostels also undertook micro-exercises in self-government, similar to that practised at Holland's Allahabad hostel. Students were allowed to hold a vote, parliament-style, where they resolved that the west owed more to the east than vice-versa, and that, rather unexpectedly, that railways were 'a curse'.[73] The students also engaged in political discussions, which were encouraged by the hostel staff.[74]

These hostels, in attempting to exert as maximum an influence upon their lodgers as possible, inevitably ended up engendering a syncretic morality and student culture. This was reflective of the deep, engaging interaction missionaries sought and achieved. This was significant, for it simmered beneath the dominant paradigm of unchecked Anglicization amongst English-educated Indians. Here, too often, scholars and contemporaries have focused on the Bengali *bhadralok*. Upcountry, in comparison, it was far more syncretic. One telling instance of this cultural syncretism can be seen in a social gathering at the Oxford and Cambridge Hostel in November of 1908. This gathering was representative of the non-religious characteristics which increasingly dominated the educational enterprise. The residence was significant, for it attracted most of its students from nearby Muir Central College, a Government institution, with most of these students eventually entering district and state levels of Government employment as clerks, schools inspectors and vernacular translators. Roughly two hundred past and present hostellers attended at the request of the Warden and former students. There were many different castes present, including Brahmans, Kshatriyas and a smattering of *chamar* (leather tanner) and *bhangi* Indian converts.[75] The afternoon centred around a tea party with free inter-caste mingling and two theatre performances. The first was Sheridan's 'The Rivals', followed by Bharatendu Harischandra's 1885 Hindi drama about Rajput valour, *Nil Devi*, both of which were performed by the hostellers.[76] Afterwards the hostel rallying song, *hostel ki jai* (long live the hostel) was recited by an enthusiastic crowd. Both this syncretic choice of theatre and the hostel's rallying song reflected the larger tendencies of the educational enterprise. The following speaker, Sherwood Reddy, charged the students to stand up for the very secular values of truth, fairness towards their Indian neighbours and justice.[77] One CMS teacher, Henry Drummond, mentioned Christianity a mere four times, stating that it was not just a religion but an affective knowledge system – a feeling of neighbourly love. This, he told his audience, found its greatest manifestation in civic virtues such as tolerance, public charity and truthfulness. He beseeched his audience to follow its examples over its religious precepts.[78] One former hosteller spoke, and when asked about the effect upon his character he did not even mention Christianity. Rather, he noted the general, civic-based inspiration that influenced him during his tenure and how keen the missionaries had been in promoting these values.[79] Rev. Charles Crosthwaite then spoke on his experience in the hostel and with his lodgers. In a direct refutation of the purportedly prevailing rhetoric of difference and increasing racialist mentalities of British officialdom, he referred to Kipling's 'East is East' dictum and poignantly stated that he wanted Kipling to be present on such an occasion 'for it might strike him that he was wrong after all'.[80]

Nationalism, Patriotism and the Limits of Official British Political Knowledge

These were all instructive examples of how mission hostels selfishly engendered Indian political activity and forms of constructive nationalism. Yet the educational enterprise's interaction with students and politics needs to be given a deeper more comparative context. Firstly, missionary educationists had their finger on the pulse of Indian society during a period in which British officialdom was relatively less informed in its knowledge of Indian religious and cultural knowledge. The colonial state, as Chris Bayly,[81] Katherine Prior[82] and Paul McGinn[83] have all suggested, became increasingly removed from Indian cultural and religious knowledge over the course of the nineteenth century. This removal from some of the most importance realms of information – which was, in turn, political intelligence – was evinced by many officials and scholarly administrators. Denzel Ibbetson[84] and Robert Needham Cust,[85] for example, both admitted that notwithstanding the welter of colonial surveys, ethnographic censuses and statistical compendiums, British and Anglo-Indian officialdom were wanting in Indian religious and cultural knowledge. Frederic Pincott, a noted Orientalist who helped found the Khalsa College in Amritsar,[86] and William Miller,[87] both conceded that the Government was lacking in their religious and cultural knowledge of the very Indians which could pose a threat to colonial rule – students. The colonial state may have had an extensive intelligence gathering apparatus at its disposal, and, as Kipling put it, 'gushed on the information front'. But it was still very difficult to be as knowledgeable of student sentiment as mission teachers and wardens. Partly as a by-product, the state was further prone to information panics,[88] especially after the 1905 swadeshi agitations.[89] A genuine network of spies and informants in schools, moreover, was lacking until after the partition of Bengal and the *swadeshi* agitations. The colonial state and Intelligence Departments also had difficulty in getting informants and runners in schools, hostels and associated institutions, especially in the United Provinces.[90]

This was significant for many reasons. Mission teachers and headmasters, compared to their colonial peers, were more knowledgeable of student sentiment and forms of affective knowledge. Unlike aloof Educational Inspectors and British officials, missionaries spent time with their students on a daily and more intimate basis. The more constructive engagements with students *vis-à-vis* British officialdom strongly suggest that there was a significant information gap. Missionaries were also privy to the channels of bazaar information, networks of communication centred around vernacular presses, Sufi shrines and Hindu temples. They were privy to the information in these communities of faith, piety and pilgrimage. Teachers often bumped into students in the bazaars after school, whilst preaching in urban locales, after meetings with pundits at the local *mandir* (Hindu temple), and less frequently with *moulvies* at the local mosque. William Miller, for example, principal of Madras Christian College, offered a candid insight. He reported that those in education have the best possible feel for rising Indian nationalism, for they had their hands on the pulse of students' consciousness in a way which the Raj did not.[91] Newspapers such as the *Advocate* of Allahabad wryly (and tellingly) remarked that if the colonial state followed in the steps of the missionaries, then all the misunderstandings between Indians and Europeans would be removed.[92] Many others confided that missionary educationists had the best feel for students' aspirations; for these missionaries education was not a profession but a vocation.[93] When the editor of *The Englishman*, A. J. Fraser Blair, called for greater interactions between Englishmen and Indians, he excluded missionaries, whom he referred to as some of the greatest and engaged social actors in India.[94] Mission teachers and headmasters even played regular sport with their students.[95] These were all significant examples, for the interactions with and knowledge of those channels of information amongst those most likely to challenge colonial rule were spearheaded and maintained by missionaries who, as we have seen, often had priorities which not mesh neatly with those of the worldly Raj. There was, thus, a significant disjuncture between the Raj's knowledge of students and the deep, engaging knowledge possessed by teachers, headmasters and hostel wardens.

This gulf between missionary educationists and the colonial state was significant, for it manifested itself in the attitudes and writings of British administrators-cum-scholars and officials, and conflicts between missionaries and their racial kin. Robert Needham Cust, for example, claimed that Indian demands for increased participation in Government came from 'state-quack'[96] students who had no real sense of patriotism. Thomas Lewis, the UP Director of Public Instruction, disparagingly termed Indian patriotism and student unrest 'a poor copy taken from English history and literature'.[97] This disparaging hostility (and, to a degree, ignorance) was further witnessed in the ways in which missionaries themselves were subjected to this antagonism. This had already boiled to the surface in the affray of the Indian Mutiny and Rebellion (1857–8) when one army officer scolded a missionary teacher: 'what ... is the good of teaching the niggers, Sir? You taught Nana Sahib, you did, and he learned to read French novels and cut our throats'.[98] This was certainly a heated reaction to the strains of the Mutiny, but it was also, more importantly, strongly suggestive of the inherent antagonism between the Raj's worldly priorities and missionaries' very other-worldly ones. This antagonism continued into the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and was often seen in the educational enterprise. For example Rev. Charles Tyndale-Biscoe, headmaster of the CMS high school in Srinagar and embodier of 'manly Christianity', was frequently approached by British officials who told him that educating Indians was 'fatal' to British rule. They cited instances of disloyalty to His Majesty and bluntly called his work a waste of time.[99] During Biscoe's years in India he reported that he never met a British official who was sympathetic with educating Indians. One particular officer even advised him to pack up has bags and go home where he could be of better use.[100] Many other missionaries were queried by the Anglo-Indian press and hidebound British administrators over what the value was in educating 'a potential bunch of agitators' against British rule.

Constructive Nationalism and Christocentricism

Missionaries, as we have seen, were more intimate and engaged with their students' political sentiments. Combined with missionary aims, and the limits of the educational enterprise in enacting nominal religious change, teachers and headmasters were in greater sympathy (though not full support) with students and their political consciousnesses. This also meant that the educational enterprise and British officialdom clashed (though it was less obvious to contemporaries) over many educational, social and political issues. This touched upon an inherent, theoretical conflict between at work. Here it is useful to employ the work of the late Ernest Gellner. The arguments in his insightful study, *Conditions of Liberty*, are of great use for our purposes here. Gellner, in attempting to account for the origins, development and emergence of western civil society, identified religion as crucial. In particular, Gellner saw the tension between absolutist state authority and that of the Church as unique to Europe and in contrast to states such as China and India.[101] Effectively, he hinted at a conflict between selfish, individual salvation (religion) and that of the common good (civil society). Gellner's trajectory of the development of civil society is useful, but in the Indian context it is far more complex. Expatriate missionary educationists found themselves in a form of tension with their ruling, racial kin – this was another example of the 'tension' between state and religious authority, albeit in a mangled and different form. It might, however, be fair to say that this tension spilled-over into the colonial realm. Yet what is more significant than this, is the fact that it was not a simple tension which manifested itself in isolation of Indian events; Indian society and consciousness were actively shaping and moulding missionary attitudes towards empire and, in particular, the tensions between the Raj and missionaries. Missionaries and the colonial government held effectively different views towards colonial rule in India and its *raison d'être*. This cadre of teachers and headmasters were, certainly, somewhat cautious when it came to approaching Indian nationalism. Yet this did not preclude them from contributing to its development. Part of Gellner's larger theory, in the Indian case, is somewhat more qualified. They had a genuine but more qualified interest in empire: British rule allowed them to maximize their own influence upon an upcoming Indian generation. Again, this was for very selfish reasons. From this perspective, Jeffrey Cox's recent argument that empire mattered little to missionaries[102] surely misses the point. Missionaries other-worldly concerns ensured that they were, ironically, very much concerned with worldly and political affairs. This ultimately brought missionaries into the orbital nexus of empire, Christianity and anti-colonial nationalism. More popular missionary figures such as Alexander Duff and Rev. James Johnston, usually the focus of much scholarship on missionaries and imperialism, spared no pains in preaching for the eventual Christianization of India. Duff himself claimed that Christianity would make Indians amenable to the Raj.[103] But they were, it must be stressed, populist figures. Upon further investigation, they were not nearly representative of a wider undercurrent of mission activity in India. What we see upon a more careful and deeper analysis of the historical evidence is that mission schools in India often positioned themselves against the very worldly interests of empire. Charlie Andrews' 1906 letter to the *Civil and Military Gazette*[104] which wrote in support of Indian nationalism, and the fact that the draft for the Non-Cooperation Movement was written in the house of the principal of St Stephen's, Sushil Rudra, were only the tips of a much larger and overlooked iceberg.

'Constructive nationalism' is a term borrowed from Carey Watt's mentioned work on north India. It is a term used throughout this section, is taken as any activity or undertaking which has in mind the betterment of the country, society and body-politic, which does not yield ostentatious political results, but at the same time possesses a patriotic understanding and loving of country. It also includes any activities which contributed towards the civic foundations of a future Indian state, even if they did not have in mind the immediate goals of sovereignty, political demarcation or unification.

After the 1870s, Indian nationalism, patriotism and political consciousness were brought into the orbit of the educational enterprise. Mission teachers and headmasters interpreted Indian nationalism as an opportunity which, rather than undermine it, could in fact benefit the missionary cause itself. Here was another example of how missionary methods and understandings were moulded by Indian social realities. It was understood by most teachers that their students were in their formative years and that an Indian patriotic movement was beyond its embryonic stage. When the LMS considered withdrawing from work in northern India due to financial difficulties in the early 1900s, for example, some thought it 'unthinkable' since the next ten to fifteen years would see the rise and consolidation of a unified nationalist movement.[105] This demonstrated, in retrospect, a remarkable degree of chronological foresight. The emergence of student political consciousness was welcomed by educationists for it would allow them, in theory, to influence Indian students and the English-educated classes. These teachers were selfishly sympathetic with rising Indian nationalism; they were convinced that the hand of God was at work and giving them an opportunity. They sought to engage Indians in preparing a future ruling generation and to maximize missionary influence, many of whom would pass through mission classrooms, courtyards and corridors. This mandated that mission teachers acted sympathetically with Indian political sentiment. William Holland, for example, was acutely aware of his lodgers' increasing political and national consciousness during his tenure at the Oxford and Cambridge Hostel and interactions with numerous mission Government-run schools. In this respect, he sniffed out an opportunity. He reported that 'the formative and depending lines of Indian history in the next twenty years will very largely depend on the men who are in college today'.[106] Most educationists believed that mission schools' influence was to be informed and shaped, but, importantly, not dictated by Christian morality. George Westcott of the SPG was another example. He clearly had India's future in mind when he stated that 'what you want to put into the life of a nation, put into its schools'.[107] Andrew Fraser was another example. He wanted to mould the future ruling generation which would come to lead India as a nation: 'we must aim in education as creating national leaders, men in touch with the thought – life and the noblest aspirations of their people, men thoughtful and independent and loyal and true'.[108] Fraser did not want to see this future generation overly-Anglicized; they should represent India and her own uniqueness. Government colleges, he confided, produced Anglicized and agnostic individuals, but Fraser believed that such tendencies were inconsistent with the preparation of a rising Indian generation.[109] Rev. Partiger at St John's was another mission teacher who had the future clearly in mind. He reported that the College was 'building up a new type of man ... this new Indian will play a very important part in the future history of India'.[110] This was another example of how teachers were looking towards the future, but also how they needed to engage with the present in the process.

The educational enterprise's more acute interactions with Indian nationalism manifested themselves in the aftermath of the 1905 Bengal partition and ensuring *swadeshi* (lit., 'own-country') movement. The call of *bande mataram* ('I bow to you mother') offers a specific case in point. British officialdom was shaken in its boots and, on the whole, interpreted this as pure political 'sedition'. This anxiety was used to justify heavy-handed repression, press censorship and imprisonments. It also spawned the embryonic intelligence departments, most of which were focused on schools and hostels. Yet what emerges from the *swadeshi* agitations, however, is that mission teachers and headmasters approached the situation differently. They interpreted the 1905 disturbances as manifestations of patriotism and not just pure, anti-foreign nationalism. Teachers and headmasters saw the *swadeshi* movements as an opportunity to mould and influence Indian patriotic feeling. Effectively they were similar to the so-called 'moderate nationalists' such as Gopal Krishna Gokhale and Annie Besant. Like teachers, they all wanted to control Indian youth and check their more 'extremist' tendencies. In one sense these expatriate teachers were conservative. But on the other hand, they were markedly progressive. Again, this was a gentle but comparatively significant stance. One Anglo-Indian writer to the *Daily Telegraph* clearly had popular mission schools in mind when he called schools and hostels 'nurseries of sedition'. But, interestingly, he was rebuked by one CMS missionary, who argued that schools were not breeding sedition and that *bande mataram*, whilst understanding that it was obviously being merged with political agitations, was not just political. This missionary writer corrected the said writer, pointing out that it technically referred to Kali, the mother goddess.[111] This might have been a moot point. But, what was more significant was that missionaries viewed the *swadeshi* movements as an exercise in patriotism rather than, as Anglo-India and the British did, as a bellicose anti-foreign movement. This was a prime example of how missionaries and British officialdom held different views towards Indian political consciousness and activity.

In dealing with the wider ramifications of the 1905 Bengal partition, many teachers distinguished between nationalism and patriotism – a love of country. Andrew Fraser of the CMS, and former Bishop of Bombay, for example, maintained that the rising national consciousness was not necessarily to be feared. Fraser was greatly involved and knowledgeable about the wider, all-India field of missionary education and was an authoritative commentator. He interpreted the 1905 *swadeshi* agitations and their antecedents via a lens of non-hostility. Here, Fraser made a clear distinction between patriotism and anti-foreign nationalism. He wrote that Indians' love of country 'is not primarily political nor does it involve any necessary hostility to British rule'.[112] In doing so, he ascribed a good deal of official ignorance to the manner in which the colonial state reacted to student activism. Charlie Andrews was another example. He thought similarly that 'it would be a grave calamity if this true love of country were misunderstood by Government in the sphere of politics'.[113] These were clear examples of how missionaries pitted themselves against the dominant hidebound reactions of British officialdom after 1905.

The attitudes of educational missionaries strongly suggest that they welcomed an increasing sense of Indian patriotism. Bishop Montgomery of the SPG called the recent Indian stirrings 'beautiful',[114] whilst the CMS Intelligencer called the increase in Indian political consciousness and critiques of British colonial policies 'admirable'.[115] The *swadeshi* movement electrified the sinews of the educational enterprise all the way upcountry from Bengal. In 1909 the LMS, for example, termed the stirrings of the *swadeshi* movement 'a healthy sign'.[116] John Haythornwaite was another prime example. As headmaster at St John's College, he never believed that India should be denied political independence. In doing so, he felt that the mission school had an obligation to influence 'a generation which will not be less distinguished for its love of freedom, mainly independence, and a desire for self-government'.[117] This was clearly indicative of missionary priorities. Henry Packenham-Walsh similarly thought that missionaries 'should rejoice therefore to see the first signs of the coming harvest, and should guide, direct and purify this new spirit of patriotism'.[118] Another teacher, F. J. Watson, wanted teachers to embrace their students' political yearnings and consciousness, rather than be averse to any nationalistic sentiments. He tellingly reported that 'the policy I found in the College when I came and which I have been glad to try to help work out, is that of not standing aloof from the students' political hopes and beliefs, but of showing all possible sympathy with them and trying to guide them'.[119] There were Indian testimonies to this constructive engagement as well. An Indian convert, K. P. Mukherjee, Headmaster of the LMS School in Khagra, argued that the 1905 partition was in the end beneficial towards India's nationhood. He believed that it would ultimately bring Hindus, Muslims and Indian Christian together, rather than divide them.[120] He further reported that missionaries were doing much to encourage this patriotism.[121]

Given missionary desires to exert their influence, combined with the shortcomings of the educational enterprise as a motor for religious change, most teachers and headmasters accepted Indian nationalism as inevitable and natural. This was, above all, a pragmatic approach. They were fully aware that a lack of sympathy would both compromise their aims and diminish their influence. Most Indian students welcomed their missionary teachers and treated them with kindness and friendship, so long as they did not dabble in anything resembling 'communitarian' or divide and rule policies. Instead of just dismissing students' personal grievances as a result of their 'inability to secure employment', educationists universalized the idea of patriotism and nationalism. They argued that these were not unique and exclusive inventions of the west, and consequently questioned the belief that non-Europeans could not feel larger, national all-India sentiment beyond community and caste. John Haythornwaite, for example, reported such in the *St John's College Prospectus and Report*. This pamphlet would have been read by missionaries further a-field, a domestic British audience, and Indian parents and students. He reported that 'the rising tide of patriotism and national aspiration cannot be checked ... it is a natural outcome'.[122] He spoke frequently of the 'New Spirit', particularly after 1905. Indian sentiment and patriotic feelings, Haythornwaite further argued, should be 'encouraged and directed, wisely and sympathetically, by College professors and by Englishmen ... not repressed and banned as a thing of evil'.[123] What he wanted was for students' patriotism to be guidable and influenced by missionary influence – which meant weaning them away from anti-foreignness. Such ill-feeling, he believed, would shatter nearly 150 years of European-Indian dialogue.[124] This was telling, and was clearly at odds with the hidebound sentiments of British officialdom. One of Haythornwaite's CMS colleagues similarly echoed this, and lauded this rising consciousness, observing that 'the [Indian] reaction is thus a very real force, moved by reasons we cannot but respect. Patriotism lives behind and within it; in it the Orient stands up against the Occident, defies it, challenges its right to come to the East and impose itself'.[125] Another LMS mission teacher argued that further steps towards Indian self-government would be 'the merest justice' to a natural, organic and inevitable outcome.[126]

Missionaries were not just constructive in their venerations of Indian patriotism and national consciousness as a conduit for missionary influence. Missionary educationists also underscored Indian patriotism by pitting themselves against larger imperial prerogatives. One prime example can be seen in the realm of educational legislation. This tension between colonial authority and missionary prerogatives was seen during the 1882 Education Commission proceedings. The Commission's members and in particular British officials were worried that students were acquiring 'seditious' sentiments and sharing them via social reform societies across India such as the Brahmo and Arya Samajs, and circulating then through vernacular newspapers. Rev. John Hewlett, for example, was asked by the Commission if he thought that the number of English-educated graduates was either too large or becoming too politically conscious. He simply replied 'no'.[127] Some two decades later, Viceroy Lord Curzon's controversial and divisive educational reforms (he proposed at one point to shut down all Indian universities), primarily the Universities Act (1904), drew a tellingly unfavourable response from missionaries. Although they favoured the Government's plans to withdraw from secondary and higher education (which would present a wider field in which missionaries could educate), they were seriously concerned that limiting overall access would roll back any opportunities for missionary influence. Rev. Henry Durrant of the CMS, in the discussions which preceded the 1904 Universities Act, passionately argued that the educational system was, in fact, not overproducing graduates. Durrant was unmistakably critical of the Government, pointing out that they had created the problem of sedition themselves, arguing that hidebound and increasingly racialist British officialdom and Anglo-India was largely to blame. In doing so Durrant refuted the charge that the system was merely producing 'seditious rebels'.[128] He approached the question morally, and argued that due sympathy should be shown with students' aspirations rather than overlooking students' well-being.[129] The CMS particularly criticized Curzon for taking a political rather than a moral approach to education, for the former hindered students' 'moral progress' and radicalized them further. On the one hand, they welcomed the abolition of a non-affective Utilitarian system of pedagogy, which they criticized for engendering agnostic, non-spiritual tendencies. Yet on the other, they had serious concerns about stifling Indian access to the larger system, which would detract from overall missionary influence. The Calcutta Missionary Conference in 1903 was fully aware of the near-inevitability of such draconian legislation. It sent a petition to the Viceroy, contending that if University senates were comprised mostly of Government appointments they would naturally inhibit missionary influence.[130] This was another point of tension. The critique extended further, claiming that the combination of minimal set rate fees and the disaffiliation of Second Grade (F.A., First Arts degree) schools from Universities would limit Indian access to higher education by keeping large numbers of students away from Allahabad, Punjab, Bombay, Calcutta and Madras Universities. This was not what missionaries from the CMS, LMS, SPG and Scottish churches wanted.[131] During the discussions amongst British officials regarding cutting numbers to university (largely led by Curzon himself), Edward Oakley of the LMS[132] and others[133] were talking about expanding access in order to accommodate Indian demand. Charlie Andrews, for example, exposed the hypocrisy in exulting English liberty when he stated that 'England and the English Church owe too much to the struggle for national liberty in the past to grudge that liberty to India and Indian Christians in the present'.[134] Again, this was a clear example of the tension between imperial and missionary priorities.

Another way in which missionary educationists set themselves against imperial and colonial prerogatives was by supporting supposedly 'seditious' Indian students. Missionaries knew full well that they could never openly, harshly criticize officialdom, and offer sanctuary to supposed 'rebels'; many were poignantly aware of the fate that betook Rev. James Long[135] of Bengal if they went too far. But they were more subtle and constructive. For example, when A. K. Chatterjee was appointed to teach at the Government-run Jubilee High School in Banaras, Claude de la Fosse, the Director of Public Instruction, was furious, claiming that he would inflame political agitation amongst the school's and city's students. De la Fosse was convinced that Chatterjee, being an English-educated Bengali, was inherently sympathetic with the *swadeshi* movement and would, if given the opportunity, spread this inflamed opinion amongst students upcountry, encouraging them to boycott British goods and institutions. He demanded that Chatterjee respond to a few questions and be reconsidered for an alternative, less politically-potent, desk job. Yet, instuctively, the first person to defend Chatterjee was Patrick Davis, the principal of St Andrew's College in Gorakhpur.[136] More famously, when Amir Chand had to testify before a Magistrate's Court in the bomb attack on Lord Hardinge in Delhi, he was defended by Rev. Samuel Scott Allnutt, his teacher at St Stephen's.[137] One LMS teacher's pupil, an Arya Samajist, caught the attention of local Government officials in Dudhi. They were afraid he would encourage religious agitation against Muslims and 'sedition' in the city's LMS high school. Jackson, however, refused to have him silenced. He retorted that such discussions were good for the health of his schools and students.[138] There were even further examples of this constructive nationalism. After the 1909 Morely-Minto Reforms, missionaries pushed to have the word 'Native' replaced with 'Indian' in Government proceedings and communications, arguing that the former was condescending.[139] This was telling. John Ellwood of the CMS was another constructive nationalist. He insisted that *mulk* (sovereignty, control), *quam* (interpreted as 'nation'), and *desi* (lit., 'countryman') should be used when conversing in Hindi and Urdu, for they denoted country and nation.[140] These were subtle yet significant, for in doing so Ellwood and others were clearly attempting to re-invigorate north Indian languages with the 'vocabulary of patriotism'.

Another way which teachers and headmasters stood opposed to prevailing imperial norms and ethoses was in the realm of race. The hardened racialist attitudes of late colonial officialdom and Anglo-India are certainly well known.[141] Less well know, though, are the attitudes and values of less popular missionary figures, particularly those involved with education outside major colonial and metropolitan centres, and in particular beyond Anglo-India's den in Calcutta. Missionary educationists did much to contest the dominant and racialist themes of an increasingly hidebound, race-conscious Anglo-India and British officialdom. This was, it must be stressed, because missionaries interpreted the world through a religious and moral prism. These teachers were religious and were less (though not completely) concerned with race. Missionaries, notwithstanding their differences with Hinduism and Islam, could easily identify with cultures of morality as seen in *bhakti* devotionalism, the Islamic traditions of shared prophets, avatars of Vishnu, and general communities of religious, aesthetic affection. British officialdom, by contrast, was cut off from many of these cultural and religious sinews; it was only natural, from one perspective, that they viewed their interactions through the prism of race. The *Christian Patriot* newspaper, for example, chided British administrators and officials for maintaining strict racial divisions, which, it further argued, hindered students from taking more of a share in Government and in the management of their own country.[142] Rev. William 'Pundit' Hooper observed with satisfaction that mission schools proved, in a snub to prevailing racialist attitudes, that 'race and religion have no necessary connection',[143] whilst the *Annual Report of the LMS* argued with much passion that mission schools were the 'most effective solvents of race hatred'.[144] *The Advocate* newspaper in Lucknow offered an insightful analysis, its editor extolled missionaries who, despite their religious differences with Hinduism and Islam, were very popular and well-liked amongst a wide variety of Indians. The editor tellingly reported that they 'were free from [that] race pride and are desirous of removing the obstacles which stand in the way of a better understanding between the East and the West'.[145] John Haythornwaite, as headmaster of St John's College, lauded the progress being made in surmounting an increasing European-Indian racialist divide. He reasoned that if his institution carried on, it was only time until 'racial antipathies and suspicion, will pass away'.[146] Haythornwaite here clearly had the future in mind. One St Stephen's teacher wrote to *The Guardian* that one of the most urgent social problems of modern India was not so much caste disability and discrimination, or Hindu-Muslim rivalry, but the growing racialist divide between Europeans and Indians.[147] When discussions stirred in St Stephen's over who was to be the new Principal, many of the staff of St Stephen's were against appointing a European headmaster to the College. Appointing a European, they argued, would be counterproductive in fostering better relations between Europeans and Indian students.[148] In the end, Sushil Rudra was appointed as Principal in 1906 in what was a clear, constructive response to the aftermath of the partition of Bengal.

Numerous other criticisms were directed against colonial officialdom, Anglo-India's hidebound racialism, and numerous other colonial policies. From one perspective, teachers and headmasters were unusually critical of empire. Missionaries were critical, it must be stressed, not solely because such polices were inimical to exercising missionary influence. Most teachers and headmasters genuinely believed that British colonial polices were both heavy-handed and a contradiction of Christian morality. Charlie Andrews has always been seen as an exception in the lengths to which he went in supporting the nationalist movement and, to a degree, in how he sometimes chided British officialdom. Yet beneath the surface, numerous other mission teachers and headmasters were equally supportive – just in different ways. Rev. John Maconachie of the CMS, for example, was unusually forthcoming in his criticism of the British. He derided Anglo-India and the Government for their 'selfish greed, cupidity, petty intrigue and reckless want of principle' in dealing with university graduates.[149] This was language which was similar in tone to *The Englishman*'s most reactionary descriptions of 'uncivilised' and 'effeminate' Indians. As early as 1905, George Hibbert-Ware of St Stephen's joined the nascent nationalist movement with gregarious enthusiasm, throwing himself into student activism and giving encouragement to political societies and debate.[150] He was unusually critical of the 1905 Bengal Partition and lamented the mimicry of Anglicization amongst the educated classes.[151] The author of Fulfilment, John Farquhar, was also a constructive nationalist. He chided Anglo-India for being critical rather than sympathetic with students' political aspirations.[152] William Holland declared that British rule over India 'must be service, not rule or exploitation',[153] and that the colonial Government's chicanery and hypocrisy were pitiful.[154] The belief that the British could maintain their rule over India by force, Holland candidly argued in his 1917 book *The Goal of India*, was simply 'absurd'.[155] Perhaps the most poignant example was set by Rev. Bernard Lucas of the LMS. He quickly rebuked one Anglo-Indian commentator who referred to Indians as 'subject peoples' in that mouthpiece of Anglo-India, *The Englishman*. Lucas replied

> 'the time has gone by for speaking of the people of India as a subject people ... the one inalienable right of a subject people is to throw off foreign yoke ... this desire to emancipate themselves is perfectly natural, whether it be regarded as seditious or not'.[156]

Mission schools were also more positive in their constructive nationalism. One way they demonstrated this was with regard to India's religious demographics. These teachers and headmasters tended to emphasize India's unity over its purportedly 'hindering' diversity in castes, sects, tribes and religious communities. They conceived India as a nation inherently composed of multiple faiths and communities. These were examples of how, contrary to the larger ideological underpinnings of the Raj, diversity was in fact a strength of Indian nationhood. Many teachers, hostel wardens and headmasters held similar views. William Holland, for example, admitted that the general diversity of India's numerous kingdoms, communities and castes was greatly overemphasized by both armchair observers and British officialdom.[157] Holland reported that Indians held a patriotism which transcended caste and community.[158] Matthew Sherring's 1872 anthropological taxonomy of Banaras' races and castes, *Hindu Tribes and Castes as Represented in Benares*, has often been overshadowed by his subtle insistence that Hindus, the dominant but not essential community of India, possessed a striking degree of unity. Even though he was convinced that social reform needed to precede independence, he still argued that India was a nation, rather than a smattering of different castes and religions: 'must we on these grounds separate them [castes] from one another, and regard them as so many distinct nationalities and races? Obviously not'.[159] This was another example of how missionary interpretations of India differed, subtly yet significantly, from the dominant 'ideologies of the Raj'.

Notions of social service and charity were also engendered within the educational enterprise by both Indians and missionaries. They both contributed towards a form of constructive nationalism by encouraging social service and community-based initiatives. Carey Watt, as mentioned, has demonstrated how *sewa* (service) and *dana* (charity; giving) were prominent tools in the constructive nationalism movement before 1920 amongst the Arya Samaj and other organizations.[160] These were also being undertaken, albeit in less intensity, within the educational enterprise. Largely this was because mission schools, as we have seen, had to educationally compete with the Arya Samaj. This was another example of how missions not only became less Christian in orientation, but how they unwittingly contributed to Indian nationalism in their desires to perpetuate their influence. At the CMS high school in Srinagar, for example, the headmaster Charles Tyndale-Biscoe, aside from being an exponent of public school-type 'manliness',[161] more importantly encouraged fraternity amongst the different pupils in his class by running a prize system that ran on the average marks of the class, rather than individual results. This, he observed, promoted cooperation rather than what he considered 'selfish individualism'.[162] These efforts were not too dissimilar from those of Gopal Krishna Gokhale's Servants of India Society. Yet there were Indian contributions towards this as well. Tyndale-Biscoe's students formed a Social Service Committee & Charity Organization, which worked with Srinagar's urban poor. They also formed a Knights-Errant Society, which worked with widows by teaching basic literacy skills and vocational crafts.[163] Further south, Rev. George Bulloch of the LMS cited with satisfaction student activism and fraternity in the form of the debating, literary and social improvement societies jointly-formed by himself and his students.[164] Bulloch gave encouragement to these societies and, often enough, his students led the way. Rev. D. Hutton of the LMS College in Banaras maintained that mission education, because of its ethical and moral component, would do for the Indian nation what state, Government-run, education could never do – prepare their students for active and not subordinate participation in Government.[165] He looked with approval upon the actions of his students, who formed a Material Improvement Society which met to discuss social and political issues. They also corralled funds to assist the poor, bought clothes for the destitute, and assisted the sick.[166] William Holland similarly found his lodgers exhibiting a 'growth in patriotism and the desire to serve'. They formed numerous improvement societies and community service groups which worked not only in Allahabad but also fanned out across north India.[167]

Mission schools also sent some of their students into the political arena, at either their own insistence or their teachers'. This linked the educational enterprise with the larger socio-political landscape of north India. Influence in the colonial government, through a mission-educated Indian, was seen as an opportunity to set aright the sometimes very 'un-Christian' Government policies lambasted by the SPG, LMS and CMS.[168] Here, again, missionaries clearly had the future in the mind whilst working in the present. Mission teachers were also worried that the secular nature of Government instruction encouraged students to become apolitical and apathetic towards Government. These teachers and headmasters believed that their non-statistical influence would be felt in the future, when India gained independence. In the meantime, they were vindicated with instances of former students who entered the political arena. Even though they rarely ended up becoming all-India national leaders in the patriotic movement, they were often seen at the state and local *taluk* (district) level as translators, educational inspectors and assistants to agricultural surveys. Many of Rev. Henry Tubb's former students, for example, went on to serve as barristers and educational inspectors in the UP Government.[169] The editor of the *Hindustan*, an influential north Indian Hindi newspaper, was himself the product of a mission school.[170] Another student at St John's went on to become a member of the UP Legislative Council. He petitioned the Department of Public Instruction to increase its annual grant to the College, citing its civic and moral benefits to the Indian community.[171] And many students who passed through St Stephen's corridors went on to join both the Arya Samaj and later on, more importantly, the nationalist movement and the Non-Cooperation Campaign.[172]

Selfish Interests, 'Communalism' and Cultural Syncretism in the Educational Enterprise

One significant by-product of this constructive nationalism, infrastructural realities and multi-faith characteristics of the educational enterprise, was the emergence of a theistic form of secularism. This came about due to the convergence of a number of factors: demographic shortcomings of Christians, the contestation of western secular and religious knowledge, and the centrality of affective knowledge. Missionary concerns and interactions with nationalism guaranteed that schools and hostels would approach their students in religiously-plural and theistic ways. This was, above all, necessary in order to maximize missionary influence. Missionaries were unwitting constructive nationalists and, combined with the aims and intentions of mission schools, a religiously-plural atmosphere was engendered. This resembled the 'secular public sphere' which, as Francesca Orsini has demonstrated, coexisted with a 'communal' religious sphere.[173] The question of whether Hinduism or Christianity was changed more by the colonial encounter is equally important and guiding. The late sociologist of religion, Brian Wilson,[174] argued that Christianity itself possesses innate proclivities towards secularization. Anglican mission schools encounters with Hinduism and Islam, here in the north Indian context, were instances of Christianity itself, to a degree, being 'toned down'. But this was not simply on account on its own genetic characteristics. It was also moulded as a result of interaction with other religious systems in the colonial context. From one perspective, Swami Vivekananda's 'broad church' Hinduism and, later on, Gandhi's flexibly vague Hinduism were part and parcel of the increasingly intense interaction and influence amongst different religious and spiritual systems in India.

How was this secularism related to an emergent Indian nationalism? Where did the two intersect? A number of charitable explanations can be given. Firstly, teachers and headmasters felt it in their interest to fashion and offer a moral, social and political outlook which served to emphasize the common 'Indianness' of different religious communities. This created an ideological rationale for perpetuating missionary influence. As mentioned, missionaries were aware that lending credence towards anything 'communal' diminished their standing in India eyes. Secondly, the moralities and pedagogical attitudes fashioned by Indians themselves were markedly secular and theistic in outlook. Both of these converged to define the educational enterprise as a largely secular and increasingly 'less-than-Christian' affair. The Indian case of secularism, it must be stressed, took on a theistic and almost deistic form. This was not secularism in the agnostic sense; religion was undeniably important. It was a religiously plural ideal which was knit together under a predominant notion of general theism. It was also slightly reinforced by a humanistic morality which was propagated by both mission schools and students.

One main reason why the educational enterprise was becoming secular was due to selfish missionary desires. Mission schools felt it was necessary to both recognize and build upon what they considered an India composed of many faiths and creeds. This, it must be stressed, was indispensable if they were to exercise (let alone maintain) any long-term influence. From this perspective it not only served to relegate Christian religiosity but it also, more importantly, underscored the almost secular and religiously-plural nature of the educational enterprise. One prime example can be seen in the realm of textbooks and examinations. Missionary educationists wrote curricula and examination papers which were often-enough theistic and religiously-plural. This was not just because Government education felt it needed to be secular, but also because, as we have seen, the educational enterprise itself was becoming more secular from within. Rev. Lawrence Meurvin, for example, felt the need for a moral text for Indian students.

He recognized that time for Bible instruction was scarce, and that a treatise on human ethics and universal morals would gain students' approval, especially if it was part of examinations. He wished to have a textbook available that would be 'free both from anti-religious tendencies and so to be in harmony with the feelings of educated Natives'.[175] Meurvin clearly had the Government-system of education in mind. What Meurvin proposed was a theistic text based on the religious principles which were 'admitted alike by Christians, Jews, Mohammedans and Hindus'.[176] A good many set examination papers for Allahabad University, moreover, were written by educational missionaries. One of the English Second Examination papers, written by Rev. James 'pundit' Johnson, suggestively promoted a vague theism

> 6-Give a precise statement of the following passage: When I consider the cheerful state of mind in is third relation, I cannot but look upon it as a constant habitual gratitude to the Great Author of Nature. An inward cheerfulness is an implicit praise and thanksgiving to Providence under all its dispensation. It is a kind of acquiescence to the state wherein we are placed and a secret approbation of the divine will in His conduct towards man.[177]

One teacher at St Stephen's posited that 'the unifying force of *religious approximation* is the only thing which can weld ... the peoples of India into a nation ... I firmly believe that Missionary Colleges have a noble part to play in actualising this'.[178] This was clearly both an example of and a reflection upon how Indian social realities had shaped the educational landscape. It was also reflective of missionary desperation.

At first glance this might seem like missionary well-wishing and self-congratulating rhetoric. But upon closer inspection, mission schools and hostels were actually in a better position to draw out the plurality of India than Government institutions. Debates over the characteristics of the Indian nation and its inherent Hindu-ness were divisive, acerbic polemical debates by the early twentieth century.[179] The educational enterprise, though, tended to emphasize India's religious plurality. They did this by taking a panoptic approach. Their selfishness and religocentricism was, in one sense, no different from that of the Arya Samaj and Deoband movements. Teachers and educationists emphasized India's religious diversity not as a barrier to nationhood, but as a justification for it, because it allowed scope for missionary influence.

The role of Indian Muslims in a wider patriotic context affords an instructive insight into the workings of the educational landscape. Indian Muslims' role within the educational enterprise strongly suggested that it was deeply engaged in wider north India's socio-religious landscape. It also suggested that missionaries clearly had the long-term future in mind. The Government system of education, with its unmistakable dominance by Hindus, had undoubtedly contributed to Muslim alienation and 'separatist' tendencies, especially amongst the *Ashraf* classes, who had long depended upon the state as a source of religious and cultural patronage, and employment.[180] The Raj certainly tended to emphasize the inherent differences between Hindus and Muslims for its own benefit,[181] and encouraged mild forms of 'communalism'; the 1900 Nagri resolution in UP by Sir Antony MacDonnell was a prime example. This was a tendency which caused missionaries some anxiety. Teachers, headmasters and hostel wardens saw Muslims as an essential part of India, even if missionaries devoted more attention and scholarly work towards Hindus and Indian Christians. Charlie Andrews, for example, cited with approval a student who, although he never converted, went to extraordinary lengths to fraternize with Muslims as fellow Indians, rather than follow his father's advice and take a post under Government, where he would interact primarily with fellow Hindus who had taken the greatest advantage of the English educational system.[182] The *Review* of Allahabad reported that such mission-work should 'continue and political and national aspirations should be encouraged, with a view to fostering a truly Indian national life to include all'.[183] John Haythornwaite spoke of Indian Muslims and Hindus as a brotherhood (*baradari*)[184] and contended that Hindu and Islamic schools, such as the Dayananda Anglo-Vernacular and Deoband Schools, could 'never be in harmony with the national movement'.[185] One missionary even blamed Annie Besant for championing Theosophy over India's plurality of faiths. This CMS teacher argued that Besant showed scant regard for India's religious diversity and traditions and that by ignoring it, Theosophists were doing little for India's political future.[186] Edward Oakley of Ramsay College, for example, formed a Literary and Fraternal Society for his Ramsay College students. This society met weekly in the Almora Public library (which Oakley himself attended, and of which he was also a patron), with a view towards fostering fraternity between Hindus and Muslims.[187] And when the CMS was seemingly pressured by Anglo-Indian articles in *The Englishman* to segregate mission students along religious lines, missionaries retorted angrily. They argued that integration, not segregation, was the best solution to any restlessness and 'sedition' amongst students.[188]

This concern for keeping Hindus and Muslims under the larger umbrella of missionary tutelage was acutely reflected in the demographics of the educational enterprise. Mission schools overwhelmingly had more Muslims, percentage-wise, in their schools than Government institutions. In north India, for example, they averaged about 18 percent of those enrolled in Government schools. In the educational enterprise, however, Muslims totalled just over 30 percent.[189] This was significantly larger than in Government-run educational institutions. Some of these were of the *Ashraf* class whilst others were of petty gentry service backgrounds and from *qasbahs* (country towns) such as Kokari, Hardoi, Meerut, Mirzapur and other middle parts of the Doab.[190] St John's College, for example, was a case in point. Out of its 559 students, 19 percent were Muslim.[191] This was much higher than in most Government colleges across India, where Muslims only made up about, on average, 7 percent of the students.[192] Many north Indian Muslims, notwithstanding the still-fresh memories of missionaries' chorus of contempt for the Prophet, the Koran and the treatment of Muslim women (particularly Rev. Karl Pfander's polemics in Agra in the 1840s and 1850s[193]), usually found a mission education preferable to the agnostic secular instruction of Government institutions. Muslims could, notwithstanding their theological differences with Christianity, identify with a recognizable form of monotheism and shared tradition of Biblical prophets from Abraham to Jesus. They also saw missionaries, in varying degrees, as *Ahl-al-Kitab* ('People of the Book'), who should be respected as precursors of the Prophet and His message. To a degree, this made the educational enterprise's engagement with north Indian Muslim society more accommodating than the cold, stoutly secular government educational institutions.

Mission schools may not have been explicitly overzealous in their efforts to bridge strained Hindu-Muslim relations, but they did so in more subtle and less ostentatious ways. Many outside of the mission enterprise attested to such subtle forms of nation-building. One ICS officer confided to a satisfied LMS teacher that mission education was forging a cohesive unity amongst Indians, whilst the British sought to divide them.[194] Shridar Ketkar reported in his 1911 treatise, *An Essay on Hinduism: its Formation and Future*, that missionaries were ironically uniting Hindus and Muslims as 'Indians' rather than, with Government institutions and British officialdom, as separate communities.[195] William Holland himself believed that Indian Hindus and Muslims had, in spite of hidebound British attitudes and tendencies to insist on the essential differences of Hindu and Muslim communities, a common patriotism and love for country.[196] Missionaries also wrote examination papers which contributed towards this emphasis upon religious plurality. The Arabic afternoon paper for Allahabad University in 1890 was written by Rev. H. M. Hackett. He may well have had in mind, possibly, a desire to promote more amiable Hindu-Muslim relation. This was a paper which would have been taken primarily by Muslim students

> Translate into Arabic: on leaving our mosque, where we had eaten, I saw a Hindu to whom I had spoke and found out that he was from Bombay, and was then a merchant in Aden ... he told me that there was a temple in Aden – those of Mahadev, Hanuman and another, the name of which I had forgotten, all of which had been built by contributions from Hindus visiting the place.[197]

Rev. John Murdoch, who as mentioned submitted a textbook for consideration by the Department of Public Instruction, raised an eyebrow or two within the Department of Public Instruction with his 'Indian Empire Reader'. It was rejected by the Department for being too political, in particular for a few pages indicating that it was counterproductive for Indian Muslims to stand aloof from the Congress Party.[198] One speech given by an educational official at Canning College was given to separate Hindu and Muslim audiences. This was ridiculed by the *Hindustani* paper of Lucknow for strengthening ill-will between the Hindu and Muslims communities.[199] Speeches in mission hostels, auditoriums and open-air yards, by contrast were delivered to multi-faith audiences.[200]

Another significant by-product of this desire to exert influence upon Indian students was the cultural fashioning mission schools engendered. Upon close analysis, these institutions were defined more by fusions of east and west than unchecked Anglicization. More significantly, this was representative of the deep engagements with Indian society which mission teachers and scholars sought and achieved. Again, this was primarily done in order to further evangelical interests. Andrew Fraser was one such example. He often insisted that India, as a land which would undoubtedly become a nation in time, should not copy the west: 'her future and glory will lie not in the imitation of ourselves and our life, but in being true to her own self, as God made her ... our work, as Christian educators, will be to draw out and reveal her own highest character ... [and a] desire to bring to light all that is pure and beautiful in her own national life and aspiration'.[201] The *Shri Raghavendra* newspaper in Allahabad reported that George Hibbert-Ware advised missionaries to prepare a textbook which would fuse the best of Indian and European tradition. He reported that this would prepare India for her 'regeneration'.[202] Samuel Allnutt of the SPG was another example. He was fully aware of the new-found political consciousness of his Stephenian students through his conversations and those he overheard in corridors. He clearly understood how *swadeshi* had electrified his pupils. He reported that Indian patriotism was, upon closer inspection, made up of 'complimentary forces, the result of the interaction between the East and the West'.[203] It was not as purely anti-foreign as both British officialdom and Anglo-India feared. Edward Oakley and his students formed the Ramsay College Union, where they were urged to discuss politics and the 'current events of awakened India'. They held a theatre performance which included Julius Caesar and Hindi political-cum-social commentary on social reform in light of the *swadeshi* agitations.[204] And finally, John Haythornwaite did not believe that Indian independence should be rushed; nor did he feel it should be denied. He felt that it should grow organically as a result of Indian and European interaction. Haythornwaite wanted missionaries to interact with the young, educated generation[205] and wished to see this amongst his students at St John's College.

This hybridism was equally reflected in the moralities fashioned in corridors, classrooms and courtyards. Annie Besant and the Theosophy movement were certainly well-known for their cultural and religious syncretism. But mission schools were more numerous and, it seems, more influential and spread-out. Indians themselves acknowledged these influences. Jayarama Rau, for example, observed that by the 1870s that mission success lay already in its propagation of theistic moralities rather than Christianity itself.[206] Perhaps it was this reality which Lala Lajpat Rai bore in mind when he admitted that one of the greatest difficulties the Arya Samaj faced was the fact that Christian morals had taken on a universalistic and humanistic tone in India.[207] William Holland envisioned a place for India which, rather than consigned to difference, would contribute to a worldly humanism and globalized community, albeit under strong evangelical influence. Its future was to contribute to a 'great mosaic of humanity'. He genuinely wanted India to be 'developed to the utmost of its God-given genius and capacities, [she] must mean so much for the spiritual and intellectual enrichment of mankind'.[208]

Holland himself seems to have been influenced by a latitudinarian and Fulfilment-guided ideology which transcended race and religion. Another example can be seen in one main CMS station, Jabalpur. Here, the hostel attached to the CMS high school employed a syncretic form of religiosity and spiritualism. Its term was opened by Hindu students with both Vedic chants and Gospel readings, which students felt complimented each other.[209] The Christian, Muslim and Hindu teachers at St John's were often called 'more Unitarian in their belief' than specifically Christian.[210] This, again, represented strong undercurrent of theism. F. F. Monk, himself a college headmaster, was indicative of the more pluralistic and, at times, theistic nature which the missionary enterprise was undergoing. He admitted, in particular, that he felt a great deal of satisfaction that the Sermon on the Mount provided 'a cosmopolitan ethical criteria'[211] for his students. Henry Squire of the CMS was another example. Responding to the criticisms all these missionaries encountered from their British benefactors and supporters, he refuted the charge that mission schools which gave less time to religious instruction were necessarily bad. He reasoned that even if students never converted or accepted any basic tenets, 'they shall at least be taught the fundamental principles of faith in God and duty to man'.[212] This was another example of the educational enterprise becoming less specifically religious and more theistic. It could also at times be humanistic, in the sense that a degree of focus on humankind and the human condition over God and the spiritual was engendered. The motto for the CMS high school and hostel in Srinagar, one of the largest in northern India, was a very humanistic one: 'In All Things Be Men'.[213]

Language and Landscape: Vernacular Education and the Linguistics of Pedagogy

So far, this book has been focused primarily upon English-language institutions. Yet beneath the surface, there was a much wider dimension to education's reach in north India. It was more penetrating than its network of pure English-language schools would seem to initially suggest. The moralities engendered in St Stephen's, St John's and Ramsay College were not the pure vestige, in theory, of an English-educated elite. The LMS, SPG and particularly the CMS all ran a large number of Anglo-vernacular mission schools. There were hundreds of aided Anglo-Vernacular schools scattered across the Gangetic plain. These schools offered both an English course, in the sense that the English language was taught, whilst most of the curriculum was instructed in the vernacular. This was significant, for the theistic and almost secular tendencies of the educational enterprise were connected, in theory, to a wider Gangetic and Bihari hinterland. It is difficult to ascertain whether these theistic ethoses of the educational enterprise transmitted out to the *mofussil* (hinterland), but it does seem to suggest that its impact was, at least initially, minimal. Yet what does seem certain is that there was a vibrant, Indian-guided network of these dually-lingual schools which emerged by 1920. This was significant, for it suggested that Indians were alert to the practical advantages of English-language instruction, yet did not have to accept wholeheartedly its larger cultural trappings and superstructures.

How did these Anglo-vernacular schools operate? Who administered and funded them? What courses of instruction did they offer? Numerous mission-run secondary and high schools were Anglo-vernacular and had multiple 'branch schools' scattered across the Gangetic plain to supplement their main stations in Agra, Lucknow, Allahabad, Kanpur and Azamgarh. The CMS, for example, had Anglo-vernacular branch schools in Faizabad, Bulandshahr, Nahiri, Lal, Pali, Gorakhpur, Azamgarh, Chunar and the hinterland of the Banaras District.[214] St John's College had a large attached Anglo-vernacular Department outside of Agra.[215] Most middle and high mission schools had attached Anglo-vernacular sections. The CMS itself maintained over 100 Anglo-vernacular high schools all over UP.[216] The LMS ran many Anglo-vernacular schools in Rani Khet, Banaras, Bahraich, Etawah, Pali, Almora, and Mirzapur. Most of these were either attached or served as branches in rural and remote areas. Most of these branch schools were founded due to local Indian demand, with many offering their services and management skills.[217] Some of these were even funded by *Bhumihar* Brahmans. Aside from mission institutions, there were also hundreds of government-run Anglo-vernacular schools, many of which were started-up by Indians on local Municipal Councils. This was all significant, for it demonstrated that Indians were guiding the penetration of (often) truncated forms of English education into the *mofussil* (hinterland).

The demographic management of these institutions was equally instructive. Many of these Anglo-vernacular schools were run by pundits, village leaders and arbiters of the *panchayat* councils, who had sought employment with the mission and were competent in English and fluent in their own vernacular. European missionaries were not resident and merely checked up periodically on the schools when an already limited schedule afforded. Most of these employees were also, perhaps more tellingly, under minimal control by the Department of Public Instruction. With near to non-existent European and Indian Christian overseeing, most of these AV schools carried-on teaching a largely Brahman student body with no Bible instruction, continued to reproduce existing forms and conceptions of piety, ritual purity and Godly society along Brahmanical norms, and enacted little in the way of radical social or religious change. These schools were not just centres of pedagogy, but also nexuses of communication which linked the mission school with wider north India. Thus, the Gangetic countryside was invariably linked up with the educational enterprise. Many of these Anglo-vernacular pupils had links to local-vernacular village newspapers, which themselves were able to both transmit and refute whatever was left of missionary Christianity in the wider educational enterprise. Some went on to work for newspapers such as the *Anis-i-Hind* (Meerut), *Brahman Samachar* (Saharpur), the *Rakhbar* (Moradabad), and the *Tohfah-i-Hind* (Bijnor). From one perspective, one of the most demographically crucial and uncontrolled areas of the educational enterprise was predominantly in Indian hands, beyond the ken of not only British officialdom but also a superficially domineering missionary bureaucracy and oversight.

Conclusion

This study of the orbit of nationalism within the educational enterprise has stressed above all the selfishness of missionary endeavours and engagements. Yet it has also emphasized the significant by-products of this selfishness, to which Indians made significant, shaping contributions. The educational enterprise had, by the early 1870s, already lost its pedagogic characteristics and was forced by circumstance and internal developments to focus on non-pedagogical and affective forms of knowledge. This was, as the previous chapter argued, largely due to the failure of Christian and western secular knowledge to enact any serious transformation of Indian knowledge systems. From this perspective, hostels were largely a by-product of this reality and were perfect manifestations of this affective knowledge; they were also key to maintaining any form of missionary influence. Yet at the same time, this was also greatly moulded by a rising student political consciousness. The *swadeshi* aftermath was one such stimulator for hastening missionary engagement with students. Teachers and headmasters were fully cognizant that if any missionary legacy was to be left to posterity, then they would have to support and shape the emergence of a more organized Indian nationalism. This was admittedly vain and somewhat condescending. Yet it would be simplistic to completely judge the levels of support for Indian political aspirations purely as disparaging selfishness. Charlie Andrews was, of course, one of the more well-known supporters of Indian nationalism. Yet upon closer inspection, this chapter has argued, many other less-well-known teachers such as Oakley, Holland, Fraser and Haythornwaite all believed in supporting their students' political consciousness – their writings, actions and interactions all spoke to this. What is more, these educationists fashioned understandings of the world and other-world which usually ran in opposition to prevailing imperial and metropolitan norms. The fact that many mission schools largely ignored the Risley Circular, for example, was a candid reminder of this mismatch in priorities.

This chapter has also revealed some wider implications. The enterprise's reach, it has been noted, was not limited to pure English-educated segments of Indian society. Vernacular education, mixed with English, was markedly popular and a significant component of the educational enterprise – hundreds of AV schools were run by the CMS, LMS and SPG. This was significant, for it linked up the educational enterprise with the wider north Indian hinterland and areas which had been relatively untouched by pure English education. It also demonstrated that not only was the enterprise overly-stretched, under-funded and under-manned, but also that Indians were essential to the expansion of pedagogy – pundits and village headmen ran, taught and administered many of these branch schools. This meant that Indians were pushing the frontiers of pedagogy as often as missionaries, and much of it was in the latter's hands.

CONCLUSION

This book has intended primarily as a contribution towards South Asian history. It has moved, in contrast to more recent and established works on Indian education, towards a more penetrating account of modern Indian educational experiences. It has argued that the colonial education system – via this missionary educational enterprise – may have seemed dominating, restrictive and disruptive on the surface, but upon closer inspection was being actively shaping from within by Indians. It has also argued for a wider interpretation of pedagogy, by relating local 'on-the-spot' examples to wider intellectual debates, political and religious movements. In doing so, Indian students, saints and scholars all fashioned their own versions of religious and intellectual modernity. These were significant, for many of these intellectual debates were also patriotic ones. This has been another aim of the book – to link pedagogy and patriotism. It has argued that patriotism, rather than being a pure by-product of a shared educational experience, was in fact nurtured within it at many different levels and for many different reasons. Colonial education seems, upon closer inspection, a much more multilayered artichoke than scholars have assumed.

Yet this is not to argue too far in one direction. There were, of course, ways in which Indians were not able to shape the educational enterprise, and acute limits to the ability of Indian forces to mould north Indian education. The centralizing tendency of the bureaucratic Department of Public Instruction ensured that – given its ability to enforce conformity with grants – it could homogenize and streamline what were previously heterogeneous and diverse pedagogical traditions. Much of the *Mahajani* component of local village schooling of petty shopkeepers and their progeny, for example, was largely subsumed by the modern, centralizing system of India's conquerors, though there were some instances of it being incorporated into the rubric of the modern curricula. Local *zilla* schools were also absorbed into overly-ambitious schemes of village education, especially after 1900; the demands for efficiency forced many schools to abandon traditional methods of pedagogy which were flexible, ad hoc and localised, often more suitable to the Indian context. The bureaucratic reach of the state, via the Department of Public Instruction, into the Gangetic hinterland was a striking example of the reach of the post-Mutiny state. Village outposts and the *mofussil* (hinterland) now had to, mostly out of financial necessity, conform loosely to a standard of bureaucratic book-keeping, inspection and teaching. These were clearly examples of significant, transforming change wrought under colonialism.

Yet on the other hand this was not the entire picture. It would be simplistic to presume that the reach of education was necessarily effective. Much of this educational enterprise, from one perspective, functioned in spite of colonial bureaucracy. Taking the educational enterprise, these constrictions and institutional transformations were no more significant than the ways in which Indians moulded the pedagogical experience. There was certainly marked institutional change, but upon closer inspection many local communities of caste, piety and learning carried on. They utilized the network of mission schools to exclude the ritually polluted, the 'unclean', protect nominal religious identities, and to reaffirm Brahmanical, Kayastha and in some cases gentry Khattri dominance of the state-educational nexus.

Similar developments could be seen in other parts of India. Further west in Marathi country, Chitpavan Brahmans largely dominated the enrolments of English-language schools. The same could be said in Tamil country, where Brahmans possessed a seemingly unchallengeable monopoly of high education and government posts. Of course, in north India there were some differences. Gentry-service Muslims who resided in the *qasbahs* and had figured significantly in the precolonial administration of Oudh, for example, certainly lost out to Kayasthas and Brahmans in the open-market competition of the colonial educational system. From one perspective, it seems, Indian shaping and moulding of education in north India contributed just as much to the emergence of modern 'communalism' as did the very divisive colonial policies of the Raj.

The competition from revivalist societies such as the Arya Samaj and Deoband also deserve mention. The foundings of the Dayananda Anglo-Vedic (DAV) College in Lahore, and the *Kangri Gurukul*, for example, have often been interpreted in broadly ideological terms. But as we have seen in the educational realm, ideology mattered less than social acceptance. Mission schools which neither appeared 'communal' nor enacted nominal religious change (conversion) were widely supported and popular amongst both religious and more secular-oriented Indians. And in many cases they were more popular than revivalist institutions such as DAV and the Deoband madrassah.

Sociology and Pedagogy: The Limits of Colonial Education

Above all this book has made a strong case for incorporating the sociology of education into mainstream Indian historiography. In particular, it has demonstrated that our knowledge of the pedagogic experience becomes much more enriched by accounting for the social factors which shaped education – patronage, caste and demographics, for example. In doing so, it has found itself largely in agreement with the theories of Bourdieu and his concepts of reproduction. Yet on that same token it has made particular qualifications of his theoretical template. The educational enterprise certainly did – like most other modern educational regimes – reproduce elite values, ethoses and norms. But in north India it tended to replicate elite Indian ethoses as often as it did British or Christian ones. Education in mission schools was an attempt to socially reproduce both Christian values and morals. But Maharajas, pundits, students and local elites patronized and supported mission schools to reproduce their own sets of values. Students and benefactors of mission schools, from one perspective, colonized the educational superstructure from within. The social dynamics of pedagogy proved that much of Indian society was able to operate within the dynamics of colonial education, but was not necessarily bound by its larger pretences.

One way in which Indians were able to reproduce their own values was through a spiritual-cum-religious approach. Students tended to dress themselves in the language of theism. This was a double-edged sword, for the theistic language obviously appealed to missionaries. But at the same time, its vagueness allowed for students and scholars to reproduce their own pre-existing norms of social relations, purity and pollution. It also allowed students to keep vague theistic positions which – whilst welcomed by missionaries – kept their proselytizing message at arm's length. From one perspective, it was a smokescreen which convinced many mission teachers that their students were edging closer to Christianity. But this was largely misinterpreted. The theism which Edward Oakley and William Holland encountered in Almora and Allahabad, for instance, was as often frustrating as it was encouraging. There were also limits to this theism. Missionaries, as we have seen, certainly knew their students well, but they could never monitor their activities fully outside of class. Many of these Brahman students, whilst professing theistic tendencies and beliefs around their teachers, could have easily reaffirmed the pantheon of Hindu deities when serving as spiritual guides and advisers at pilgrimage sites and holy cities such as Banaras.

Patronage was also crucial. Indians were as instructive in the expansion and patronage of mission schools as were Europeans themselves. Many mission schools owed their existence and continuance solely to local demand. They were instructive in the expansion of education, as they led the demand for it, and vocally criticized the Government when access was restricted. In fact it was clear that Indians were demanding an amount of primary, secondary and higher education which the British – for numerous reasons – were unwilling to provide. The patronage of pundits, Maharajas and holy men tended to underwrite schools which continued to admit more 'respectable' members of Indian society, and shunned those who traditionally lacked pre-existing traditions of learn-enriched by accounting for the social factors which shaped education – patronage, caste and demographics, for example. In doing so, it has found itself largely in agreement with the theories of Bourdieu and his concepts of reproduction. Yet on that same token it has made particular qualifications of his theoretical template. The educational enterprise certainly did – like most other modern educational regimes – reproduce elite values, ethoses and norms. But in north India it tended to replicate elite Indian ethoses as often as it did British or Christian ones. Education in mission schools was an attempt to socially reproduce both Christian values and morals. But Maharajas, pundits, students and local elites patronized and supported mission schools to reproduce their own sets of values. Students and benefactors of mission schools, from one perspective, colonized the educational superstructure from within. The social dynamics of pedagogy proved that much of Indian society was able to operate within the dynamics of colonial education, but was not necessarily bound by its larger pretences.

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There are other aspects of Bourdieu's work which require some modification. Bourdieu's concept of pedagogical authority, for one, seems to have a qualified usage for the Indian case. It was clear that not only were mission schools subject to the vagaries of market education, but also to the demographic and infrastructural realities of classrooms. The small percentage of both Christian students and missionary teachers diluted the message they were originally paid to propagate. Student conversions, in particular, robbed headmasters of whatever pedagogical authority was left. Bourdieu's understanding of charisma, also seems to have limited applicability. Students, religious and royal patrons, and popular scholars all recognized and engaged with mission schools, but it was clear that this did not lead to a commensurate rise in headmasters' and teachers' authority – if anything teachers' authority steadily waned after 1870, and particularly after 1905. This was seen in the ways in which missionaries responded to the 1905 *swadeshi* movements and their unwitting vitiating of religiosity within the educational enterprise. After 1905, teachers and headmasters – in spite of the 'disciplining' by classrooms, roll calls and lessons – were more often reacting and adjusting to student sentiment rather than actively guiding it.

The role of examinations also deserves special mention. What we have seen is that examinations tended to detract from the religious aims of mission schools and the wider landscape of spirituality for which teachers and headmasters hoped. Marx, for his part, was quite accurate when he deemed the modern examination a bureaucratic baptism[1] in moulding profane knowledge into sacred knowledge. Certainly, the examination was central to the educational enterprise, for it vitiated the religiosity of pedagogy, but not in the way Marx and Bourdieu envisioned. A decline in religiosity in classrooms and corridors did not equal a drop in spirituality and faith, for religious spirituality still persisted. It was clear that students fashioned their own versions of spirituality and the Divine which were accommodated within a secularizing educational structure and, more significantly, in accord with their own pre-existing traditions in sacred geography, Puranic cosmology and theistic inclinations. Here, knowledge was not wholly transformed – as Marx prophesied – but survived intact and was remoulded and refashioned within the ambit of modern, English education. Moreover, Indian students' readings of their courses strongly suggest that knowledge was not becoming less sacred, but was recasting and remoulding itself. It was more versatile and resilient than both nineteenth-century commentators and contemporary anthropologists made them out to be. From the north Indian perspective, Marx and Bourdieu both overestimated the power and reach of the state in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As we have seen, Indian society from one perspective operated in a domain which was not so much autonomous from the state (*à la* the Subaltern School), so much as it was able to expose particular limits of the colonial state's power. The realm of English education, itself an extension of the state, was from one perspective never fully dominant over Indian society. That is not to deny the reach and power of the late Raj, but merely to shed light upon one realm – education – where the limits of the colonial state's power was fragmented, incoherent and often patchy.

This study has also found merit in the sociological work of Michel Crozier.[2] Crozier argued that the French bureaucracy largely reflects the ethoses, norms and values of French society. In India, it does seem to appear that the bureaucratic nature of the educational enterprise – and the secularization that came with it – did reflect the social realities of Indian society to a degree. Students' concerns with examinations and their ability to keep mission schools in check with the threat of mass exoduses over conversion, to a degree, seem to have shaped the development of a very secular, increasingly bureaucratic and less-than-Christian and less-than-Anglicizing educational enterprise.

Colonial Knowledge

This book has, inevitably, also contributed to ongoing historiographical debates on colonial knowledge. Whilst most studies have tended to focus on the construction and utilization of knowledge, this book by contrast has examined its impartation via education. It has, in particular, identified a strong presence of affective knowledge within the educational experience. Krishna Kumar[3] has argued that one way the British exercised authority was through the issuing of textbooks. As knowledge became more affective, it had significant implications for textual authority. But combined with the contestations of the curricula which schools encountered, this argument seems somewhat overstated. This ascendancy of affective knowledge was greatly informed by the emergence of Indian patriotism and nationalism, which missionaries – as we have seen – did much to encourage. But it was also equally due to the innocuous impact the western curricula had upon Indian students' religiosity. In particular this study has focused on how Indians students responded to their courses, and how popular scholars contested the colonial knowledge of Fulfilment theory. Macaulay's later avatars and popular missionary figures may have trumpeted from a distance that the western curricula was enacting significant, transforming change upon the 'Hindoo mind', but students in Anglo-vernacular schools, urban centres and hostel corridors were, on the whole, able to retain their beliefs in Puranic geography and divine cosmology whilst assimilating what they saw fit. On the other hand, the ideological trajectory of Fulfilment – an unabashed attempt to appropriate India's religious heritage – was equally and successfully contested. Brajendranath Seal and Mahendranath Sircar, for example, were clearly able to refute the intellectual trajectories which scholars such as John Farquhar, Christian Lassen and Thomas Maurice imposed. This further chipped away at the Orientalist-cum-colonial knowledge edifice. Taking these two perspectives, this book has strongly suggested that even though Orientalism was certainly a way of attempting to dominate and appropriate India, it often encountered vibrant and alert Indian traditions which were able to circumvent and even reshape it from within.

This is not to deny the learned theories of Fulfilment in the educational enterprise. Fulfilment certainly played – in theory – a significant role in missionaries' engagements with India, and was, as we have seen, used as a template by which to engage with students spiritually. But it often ended up petering out due to examination pressure, Indian contestations, or even the contradictions between Christianity's message, high-handed British colonial polices and Anglo-India's racialism. Fulfilment, moreover, was not just an ideological straitjacket which missionary scholars sought to impose. It was also a reflection of how missionary methods themselves were being changed by their interactions with Indian society. Missionary attempts at discussion with their students and India's religious traditions were, it must be stressed, also representative of a subtle uneasiness with a rapidly secularizing world. These evangelicals sought certainty and clarity in the tapestry of moralities and religions with which they came into contact. Fulfilment was not just a simple attempt to will-to-appropriate, but it was also reflective of the anxiety, desperation and uncertainty of expatriate scholars and preachers.

This research has also attempted to give some perspective, however limited, to the shortcomings of the colonial state's intelligence capabilities and its own knowledge of Indian society and culture after the Indian Mutiny. Here, it has found that, compared to the colonial state's knowledge, missionaries were more deeply engaged with Indian society and its religious and cultural traditions. They tapped into many of the veins of affective knowledge from which British officialdom increasingly removed itself. In Hindu temples, Sufi shrines, mosques and urban bazaar centres, mission teachers and scholars conversed with pundits, moulvies and urban shopkeepers. They exchanged religious pamphlets, discussed the nature of the Divine, and sought out commonalities. Not all of this was polemical. Much of it, as we have seen, was constructive. The contradictions between scholarly-administrators' arguments (such as Sir Henry Cotton's) that Hindus were being transformed by modern education, and the marked inefficacy of education 'on the spot', strongly suggest a gulf in the deep, personal, affective knowledge of Indian students. Cotton and others such as Herbert Risley and Valentine Chirol, it should be stressed, usually had overly-Anglicized Bengali students in mind when such comments were made. What is most striking is that missionary educationists and scholars – at least in our study here – appear to becoming more sympathetic with and appreciative of India's religious, spiritual and cultural traditions during a period in which Anglo-India and British officialdom was becoming more removed, reactionary and racialist-minded. This all has significant implications for our understanding of colonial knowledge. In a sense, colonial knowledge – with the term's implicit Foucauldian undertone – appears to be a somewhat inadequate template in conceptualizing power relations.

Indian Modernity and Secularism

Another main argument of this book has been that Indians, in shaping their educational experiences, fashioned their own versions of modernity. It argues that one of the major conduits for debates concerning and the emergence of Indian forms of modernity was the educational experience. But it was not, as scholars has usually presumed, solely due to the rupturing effects of bureaucratized institutions, curricula and new ways of viewing teacher-pupil (*guru-chela*) relationships. Much of it was found in the curricula and scholarly debates themselves – these were often more important than institutions. The trajectory of Fulfilment, on the surface, seemed to impose a definition of what it meant to be religiously modern. Fulfilment possessed its own modernizing, Darwinian-influenced undertones. But it becomes clear from gauging students' reactions to their course and the works of popular scholars such as Seal, Raychaudhuri and Shridar Ketkar, that the traditions of Hinduism possessed very modern attributes. They were not just reacting to Orientalist encroachments, but, more importantly, were chipping away at the edifice of Fulfilment. When Seal and Sircar, for example, were utilizing archaeological evidence to locate an independent development in the traditions of divine reincarnation (*avatara*) and the lore of Krishna, they were clearly putting the chronology of Hinduism's development on a modernist trajectory by making it independent of Christian (and to a looser extent, British) influence. Ketkar's argument that pantheistic monotheism was consistent with monotheism, for example, clearly struck at the root of Fulfilment. This fashioning of modernity was also seen in the realm of scientific history. Popular scholars such as Prafalla Chandra Ray and Seal were clearly fashioning their own versions of 'modern' rationalist and scientific achievement as found in the Indian past. Yet more importantly, the scientific curricula did little to transform students' beliefs in the divine source of the Ganges 'on the spot'. Many students were able to incorporate the sciences of the west whilst remaining convinced of their own extant conceptions of divine geography. English literature as a modern moralizing force, upon closer inspection, also effected little change as evinced by the press, missionaries and students themselves. Considering all of this, an Indian form of modernity emerged not because of the rupture of institutional change and bureaucratic reach, but was facilitated by the interactions between Indian and western knowledge, and, above all, Indian contestations. From one perspective, Indian 'modernity' was not simply created by colonialism but was drawn out by it.

This book has also – perhaps inevitably – touched upon secularism. At first glance, contemporaries and scholars long interpreted the emergence of the Brahmo Samaj and an Indian middle class as simple responses to secularizing trends emanating from the imperial metropole. This line of thought was given further impetus by what Owen Chadwick termed the 'secularization of the European mind'.[4] Yet what is revealed upon detailed inspection is that the old idea of transmission from metropole to colony was, in fact, far more complex. Outwardly, the larger educational system was engendering a form of secularization due to the larger pressures of market education and vain, selfish missionary means. Examination pressures forced mission schools to jettison both Bible lessons and general, open-air spiritual discussions of a comparative nature. The secular ethoses of the educational enterprise, certainly, were also being given an impetus by missionaries who wished to approach their students non-confrontationally. But Indians were also shaping and facilitating this secularism. In a sense, they were the real movers. They were not simply reacting to the vitiating religiosity of the colonial educational system, but were also fashioning their own versions of secularism through their vague theistic – and almost deistic – professions. It was clear that Hindus in particular were able to appropriate what they saw as best in Christian morals whilst eschewing its religiosity, doctrine and ritual. This not only demonstrated a significant degree of resilience and adaptability – and evoked a great deal of missionary irritation when Krishna and Jesus were held on an equally moral plane – but it also was emblematic of an Indian secular tradition. What is more, many educational initiatives in north Indian were markedly secular. 'Traditional' *pathshala*s and *tol*s were found to be utilizing the secular Department textbooks; Indians underwrote missionary education activities for secular instruction and general, non-specific moral benefits; numerous observers noted how Hindu conceptions of pedagogy and education were defined by their irreligiousness. Not all educational movements of the latter nineteenth and early twentieth centuries fell within the orbit of the Muslim Deoband *madrassah* and the Arya Samaj *gurukul*s. The educational enterprise contributed towards and was a conduit for an Indian form of secularism, rather than its exclusive motor.

Missionary Christianity: An Imperial Religion?

Apart from this book's focus on Indian society and South Asia, this research has also contributed to the realm of imperial history. It has attempted to give shape to Chris Bayly's notion of 'imperial religions'.[5] On the surface it certainly seemed that way. But upon closer inspection, missionaries such as John Farquhar and Thomas Slater, in their treatises on comparative religion and undertakings of theistic studies (particularly the Hindu Vaishnavite tradition) were, in a sense, markedly similar to the techniques of early Indo-Muslim chroniclers such as Dara Shukoh and Zulfigar Mubed which were, in turn, accelerated by eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century scholarship by beguiled, anxious British scholars. The latter nineteenth-century missionary-cum-scholar cadre ultimately refined, codified and gave clearer expression to this engagement, rather than create it anew. Fulfilment, from one perspective, was not so much an imperial ideology concocted up to appropriate India's religious traditions, but was the outcome of a longer precolonial tradition and, later in a maligned form, fierce, anxious debates amongst Europeans. Yet above all, it was a result of the moulding forces which Indian society exerted upon missionaries which induced teachers, preachers and scholars to reorient their approaches and, to an equal degree, their ultimate ends. Missionary educationists neither had the desire to undertake an aggressive evangelical policy nor did they possess means to do so.

Another theme of this book has been the asymmetry between missionary and imperial prerogatives. The other-worldly priorities of educationist missionaries were instructive. Missionary educationists clearly had the future in mind when it became certain that conversion and nominal religious changes were few and far between. This led them to focus on building up Christian influence which they hoped would germinate in the future. This was a selfish dimension to missionary patriotism for India. Missionaries other-worldly concerns ensured that they were, ironically, very much concerned with worldly affairs. The imperial horizons of missionary educationists ensured that they attached less value to empire and the Raj than British officialdom and policy shapers. Yet this did not mean that the empire was ephemeral. It was convenient, for Britain's empire was, for many educationist missionaries such as Holland, Andrews and Oakley, a conduit for long-term missionary influence. The *Bombay Quarterly Review* in the years before the Mutiny gave a foretaste of this, acknowledging that 'if in the end the brightest jewel in the crown is to be taken from it, let it be so'.[6] Another missionary asserted that India was not the jewel in the crown of the British Empire, but the Jewel in God's Crown.[7] These were clearly indicative of missionary priorities. Missionaries, upon close inspection, often diverged from imperial and metropolitan norms. They were not always, as recent scholars have argued, party to them.

This study has also found itself in slight agreement with Ernest Gellner's theory that there is a fundamental tension between worldly (i.e. Government) and other-worldly (religious, spiritual) authority, between selflessness (the goodwill of the community, state) and selfishness (individual salvation). However, Gellner's theory deserves qualification if applied to the north-Indian missionary case. Missionary educationists clearly collided with imperial prerogatives and on matters such as the Risley Circular and particular submissions for government textbooks. Yet at the same time missionaries welcomed the British imperial presence simple because it gave them access, protection and manoeuvrability which would have been more difficult under an Akbar or an Aurangzeb. Welcoming the existence of British rule did not, though, translate into support for all of its policies. Missionary memoirs and interactions strongly suggested – by criticizing excessive Englishness and particular colonial policies – that the Raj was, in many ways, merely a conduit for their own objectives.

Missionaries were also at odds with imperial norms and prerogatives in the realms of culture and race. At both a larger level of debate and at more personal interactions with students, missionary educationists were neither Anglicists nor Orientalists. They engendered particular facets and traits of Indian culture and morality which were also given impetus to hybridism by Indians themselves. In particular, by lauding the 'higher' qualities of *bhakti* devotionalism and Hindu theism, these educationists were clearly seeking confirmation of their own faith and morals as often in Indian tradition and culture as in western Christianity's. Many of these traits students displayed were – many missionaries ironically observed – closer to the very moralities they wished to reproduce than those exhibited by most of Anglo-India and British officialdom. At first glance this might seem like mere rhetorical adaptation to further mission aims. In a sense it was, but not completely. Many teachers and headmasters championed a hybrid cultural, religious and linguistic morality because they genuinely appreciated and understood Indian culture. What is more, the universal sweep of Fulfilment theology transcended race and ethnicity. Their views towards race clearly demonstrated that they were not midwives to the emergence of hardened racialist and gender-regimented late colonial *mentalité*. Missionary educationists clearly viewed the world through the prism of faith and morals, even if popular and more well-known figures such as Alexander Duff and James Johnston championed the bedfellow nature of Anglo-Saxonism, Christianity and empire.

This study has also suggested a role for Anglican mission schools in the longer development of Indian nationalism and patriotic affection. It has aimed to enrich our understanding of the emergence of an India-wide nationalism by investigating interactions within classrooms, corridors and hostels, and at an India-wide intellectual level, rather than exclusively focusing on the 'public sphere'. The missionaries who ran schools and colleges in northern India invariably encountered an emerging Indian political consciousness. Not all of these teachers and headmasters fully sympathized with Indian nationalism for what it genuinely was. But many of them did. In contrast to the colonial state, missionaries neither feared a rising Indian political consciousness nor dismissed it as 'a poor copy from English literature'. Like the colonial state, missionaries took this stance out of their own resolute selfishness. But more importantly, their actions spoke volumes: they defended students from charges of 'sedition and disloyalty' and criticized (however gently) particular British colonial policies. Schools and hostels undertook micro-exercises in self-government and management, propagated civic ethos and engendered a form of religious plurality. When state governments were cutting access to higher education, missionaries wanted to take on more students. Political agitation by 1905 may have been relatively quiet in the United Provinces, but missionaries were aware of their students' aspirations and simmering political sentiments years before it became more acute and organized. This was largely because they were, firstly, more engaged with Indian society than British officialdom and, secondly, they viewed the world through a different prism. The close friendship between Gandhi and Charlie Andrews, from one perspective, should not been seen so much as unusual, but as suggestive of the deep engagements which missionaries sought and, often enough, achieved. Of course, the latter nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were marked by a – seemingly – increasing Hindu-Muslim divide and religious polarization. This period witnessed the formation of the All-India Muslim League, the Deoband school, and revivalist Hindu organizations such as the Arya Samaj and the Hindu Mahasabha. Moreover, missionaries' focus on the necessities of 'character-building' amongst students in a residential system seemed, superficially, similar to the condescension British officialdom displayed towards India's lack of 'character' and manliness.[8] Yet, firstly, missionary tendencies were quantitatively different in this respect since they viewed life via a lens of religion, morality and faith. What was more significant was that this insistence on 'character' reflected the desperation of expatriates who were unable to enact major, nominal religious change amongst their students and lodgers. A seemingly growing religious divide and its political manifestations did define much of the late colonial period, and it became increasingly aggressive when it came to issues of conversion. Yet on the other hand, this was not the complete picture. An analysis of interactions between teachers and students, and between missionary scholars and holy men, reveal that there was a strong (if not overlooked) undercurrent of engagement and exchange which was more intimate and positive than the simple rise of religious 'communalism'. And partly as a by-product, missionaries were less dismissive of Indian political consciousness than British officialdom. Charlie Andrews, even in 1908, could not recall a single instance of purely anti-foreign agitation in a mission school outside of Bengal.[9] Most schools in the educational enterprise encountered little in the way of anti-foreign agitation, even in the immediate aftermath of the 1905 *swadeshi* agitations. This was not only a regional dimension but it was also, more importantly, indicative of how teachers and headmasters were generally more sympathetic with Indian patriotism. The picture which seems to emerge is that missionary educationists were party to the rise in affective and constructive nationalism in north India (as seen in the Servants of India Society and Theosophists), rather than imperial prerogatives.

Like much Orientalist scholarship, we should also be wary of reading too much into missionary rhetoric and popular pamphlets. These works, it should be emphasized, were usually written for a home audience, upon whom mission schools were bindingly dependent for funding. This audience would have never funded mission schools had they been aware of the relatively complex realities of education, which were rarely relayed to their main benefactors. In order to secure patronage and funding, donors needed to be convinced that their money was being put to good use. Missionaries may have spoken to their home audiences with disdain of the supposed 'heathen' Indian tendencies, but their personal reflections and interactions with educated Hindus often belied the more sympathetic sentiments of which their personal memoirs and notes speak. What is more, a detailed and deep analysis of mission records strongly suggests that missionaries in north India were becoming more conciliatory and less confrontational than the Koran- and Purana-bashing generations before them. This is not to deny that missionaries were not convinced of the 'superiority' of Christianity. This study merely seeks to suggest that we approach the history of missions and their activities with a cautious and nuanced insight, rather than merely dismissing them outright. What missionaries said should not necessarily be taken too seriously. Their rhetoric was a reflection of their weakness and inability to adequately understand and, more importantly, influence Indian society. It moreover masked deeper debates amongst Christians in Britain and the wider world over the place and necessity of accommodation with the humankind's religious systems.

Education and Missionary Impact in a Global Context

The impact of missionaries, both as religious and pedagogical actors in South Asia was significant. But valuable insight can be gained if we compare India's case with similar situations across the globe. The nineteenth and twentieth centuries were periods of rapid, far-reaching missionary expansion and ambition. Yet it would be simplistic to view the expansion of preachers and schools as something which was just a product of the European will to order. Compared with India, there were strong similarities in East and West Africa in terms of the sociology of education. In Southern Africa, for example, there was a strong local demand for English education and local subscriptions underwrote many of the new institutions. It was largely African demand and pressure which led to the opening of new English-medium schools.[10] Here, the LMS was at the forefront of setting up schools.[11] Similar developments were seen in Kenya and Uganda, with the Kikuyu demonstrating a strong demand for such instruction,[12] and in West Africa with French missions, where there was even more of a demand for English over French instruction.[13] In the Niger Delta region, by contrast, local trading chiefs stimulated an acute demand for English education in advance of missionaries. These traders founded their own schools to facilitate connections with British private merchants and traders. Yet like the Indian case, these families eschewed religious education in the new institutions and kept their moral instructions intact at home.[14] In particular, demand for English education boomed after the 1910s at a rate similar to that seen in Bengal in the 1850s and 1860s.[15] Similar connections can be made with the Middle East. In the Ottoman Empire, for example, missionaries were active in setting-up schools and seeking to attract Muslims of 'respectable' (read: more amenable to Christianity) backgrounds which might be more amenable to the Gospel message.[16] In Palestine[17] specifically, Scottish Presbyterian missions were active in setting up what turned out to be multi-religious schools which were popular, mainly because they were, much like in north India, becoming secular as a result of having to work with the grain of local society.[18]

We can see similar developments if we compare India with Southeast Asia. In the British Malay Straits Settlements, for example, those who benefited the most from English schools were from an extant lesser-aristocracy with precolonial traditions of literacy and learning. In particular the Javanese hereditary aristocracy (*priyayi*) seemed to have benefited most from English education.[19] This was not too dissimilar to the Brahmanical and Kayastha dominance of education in north India and that of the Chitpavan Brahmans in western India. Further north in mainland China, similar connections can be drawn. Here, in absence of a formal colonial government, missionaries largely pushed the boundaries of pedagogy. American, Canadian and British missions were active in founding schools along the Yangtze River delta which offered both English and Anglo-Mandarin courses.[20] Canadian missions, much like their north Indian counterparts, also found their educational efforts being secularized due to local demand and having to work with Chinese social realities which resisted evangelical tendencies within schools. Most Chinese students seem to have appropriated what they saw as best in English education without its larger religious superstructure.[21] Similar realities were faced by American Baptist missions.[22]

There was also a wider imperial dimension to all this. Most British administrators outside of South Asia were well aware of the impact of English education in Bengal. With this awareness, most were wary of undertaking extensive educational endeavours – they feared empowering the Kikuyu as they had earlier done for the *babu*. British administrators in Africa, for example, seem to have been similarly wary about undertaking extensive expansions of English education with government funds. All too aware of the Indian example, administrators in the

Niger Delta[23] and in particular in the Yoruba city of Ibadan[24] resisted demands for secondary, English-medium schools and in particular universities. Initially these demands were stifled by the system of indirect rule, with no direct, official connection between administration and pedagogy. After the establishment of formal British rule in the Niger, demand took off during the 1910s and 1920s.

Yet there were discernible differences compared to the Indian case. It does seem, initially at least, that there was more continuity in South Asia – in terms of the missionary educational impact – than in other parts of the world such as Africa and East Asia. In China, the threat to the social dominance of the Confucian-service gentry was probably greater than that posed to India's Brahmanical and gentry-scribal classes. The Middle Kingdom seems to have witnessed more transforming change than in India, especially when the imperial Chinese government abolished the centuries-old Civil Service examinations in 1905. After the 1905 abolishment, Chinese demand for English education boomed – before it had been negligible. This shook-up the demographic composition of those who would serve the state.[25] In Palestine and the Ottoman Middle East, missionary activities were kept in check to a greater degree than in Africa and India; the Ottoman government quickly shut down schools which stirred up local resentment. After the *tanzimat* reforms (1839–76), the Ottomans' control over state education was even deeper and far more penetrating than the Scots' missionary networks of schools and even that of the Raj.[26] Here, a more centralized Ottoman state was able to keep missionary activities at arm's length.

Nature of Colonial Encounters and the World of Orientalism

This book has been intended primarily as a contribution towards modern South Asian history. But it also has implications for our understandings of colonial relationships in general. In addressing issues such as knowledge, nationalism and religion, it inevitably has stepped into the nature of colonial encounters. This study has laid great emphasis upon the colonial encounter not simply as a story of oppression and Indian reaction, but as a period of Indian vibrancy, agency and interaction. It has stressed the limits of the educational enterprise, the gamut of ways both in which Indians contested it, and how educational structures were themselves antithetical to missionary and colonial aims. This book has largely found itself in agreement with Gene Irschrick's[27] and Michael Dodson's[28] characterizations of colonial encounters, mainly as nuanced, select appropriations and, at the same time, a form of dialogue. The parameters of Fulfilment were by no means equal, but Indian students, scholars and saints were clearly levelling the playing field in their contestations of this imposed Christocentric discourse. There was also much dialogue between missionary scholars and Indian holy men in Banaras, Allahabad and Ayodhya. Pundits and students were also able to select what they saw best in the missionary message whilst eschewing its religiosity. This book has also found Homi Bhabha's[29] characterization of the Indian-European encounter to be highly plausible – that is, Indian encounters represented a hybrid engagement with the modern. Students' theistic proclivities largely allowed them to incorporate the moral message of Christianity within the rubric of Indian tradition. Gospel songs recited with traditional Hindu *bhajan*s and 'Hinglish' were other examples of this hybrid engagement.

Importantly, this research has sought somewhat of a middle-ground in the current state of Indian historiography. In this educational realm of the colonial experience, Indians were not the free-agents as unrestrained by the British which some scholars have made them out to be. Indians clearly were constrained by the set curricula of the Department, its demands for bureaucratic efficiency and the link between English education and government employment – the latter of these, possibly more than any other factor, assured the dominance of English education over more traditional forms of pedagogy. Prominent, 'respectable' members of Indian society may have made it onto the Syndicates of Allahabad and Calcutta University, but it does not seem that they were not able to shape either educational policy or the curricula. This was especially true after Curzon's punishing and restricting educational reforms in 1904. These were all examples of realities which Indians could do little to change, and how little they could shape the larger prerogatives of education. The quick dissipation of the Nationalist schools set up during the Non-Cooperation Movement was a candid reminder of these brute realities.

But there was more to it than this. This book has argued that our educational literature is somewhat over-polarized. The previous chapters have attempted to offer a more balanced account of the Indian educational experience, which sees Indians as key interlocutors between their society and the British. On the one hand, much has been written about the revivalist schools of the Arya Samaj and Deoband. On the other, much has been written about the very institutions against which these reformers were rebelling: directly-government run, secular, English-speaking schools. But this has diverted out attention away from the very important middle ground, where Indians were able to guide and direct the expansion of both English and Anglo-Vernacular education. Indians neither had to accept colonial education *in toto* nor subscribe to a revivalist programme. Ironically, many of the histories of Indian education – which in many ways continue to emphasize the transformative and disrupting effects of English education – bear a striking resemblance to the polemics and underlying assumptions of Alexander Duff and Macaulay's generation. From this perspective, this seems decidedly antiquated and neo-conservative.

This book has, above all, stressed the adaptability, resilience and vitality of Indian knowledge systems and religious traditions by investigating the sociology of education. Indians may not have been able to change the curricula, but they were able to limit and shape its much-hoped-for 'emancipating' effects. In a way, the institutional and bureaucratic changes enacted by the British were only superficially effective. Education in north India, even within the English and Anglo-vernacular net of schools and administration, was able to retain distinctively Indian features. Caste norms and ethoses largely went on uninterrupted, evident by the tempers manifest in the Hindi and Urdu presses and the walkouts by Brahmans in village outpost schools. Students were able to bring mission schools to heel over the issue of conversion, whilst the employment of Indian tradition to refute Fulfilment-inspired scholarship suggested a strong ability for Indian norms, ethoses and patterns of debate to continue.

This study has not directly addressed Orientalism from a theoretical approach, but has inevitably touched upon it throughout. It has gone to lengths to further qualify the notion of Orientalism that all imperial encounters were founded upon difference. If we take Orientalism as it is traditionally defined, as the creation of difference between east and west, than missionaries clearly blurred these distinctions. These teachers and headmasters viewed the world through a religious lens which transcended race, nation and ethnicity. Even at its most unabashed, attempts to read Christianity into Hinduism should also be seen as a sign of missionary weakness and uncertainty, rather than purely as attempts to supplant India's religious heritage. Missionary discussions with higher Hinduism and other South Asian religious systems, and in particular their identification of particular traits which were seen as similar to Christianity, suggested a religious-based affinity between Europe, as 'representative' of Christianity, and India, as representative of Hinduism. Much of this seemed to continue the more scholarly and sympathetic engagements with Indian tradition and society during the eighteenth century. Missionary scholars found much to admire in Hinduism, Indian civilization and its moral qualities. They quickly pointed out more 'Christian' moral traits amongst their students than with uncompromising British administrators. From this perspective, the idea that formulations of difference largely characterized the colonial encounter seems somewhat incomplete. The notion that missionaries and the British were guilty of cultural imperialism is also dangerously simplistic. It presumes that they saw nothing worthwhile in Indian culture. But, as we have seen, missionary educationists and scholars found many affinities between their religious traditions and India's. The reading of cultural contact between missionaries and Indians was not a gloomy one, it was engaging and at times accommodating, and above all was a testimony to the vitality, adaptability and resilience of Indian society.

NOTES

Introduction

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2 British Fears and Indian Society

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169. NAI, HD, Ed. Files, No. 17–72, 1889, A. Croft to Bengal Gov., 28 October 1888.
170. NAI, HD, Ed. Files, No. 39–55, 1901, T. Lewis to GOI, 12 September 1898.
171. NAI, HD, Ed. Files, No. 36–39, 1888, A. Neut, 19 December 1887.
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174. A. Fraser, 'Education in India and Ceylon in view of the National Movement', *The East and the West*, 1908, p. 38.
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192. Ibid., p. 289.
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196. Ibid., vol. 1, pp. i–iv.
197. Ibid., vol. 2; Ironically, one figure who brilliantly represented the tenuous debate and anxiety over the Christianity-western scholarship nexus was a European, R. J. Morrison. His 1871 treatise, *King David Triumphant! A Letter to the Astronomers of Benares*, questioned the relationship between Christianity, modern science and European 'superiority'. Over the course of sixteen pages, Morrison utilized algebra and modern Copernican astronomical observations to effectively refute Newtonian science, and posit the centralism of the Earth in the universe. Morrison argued that European scientists were bound 'hand and foot' to Newton, whose works 'flounder, in a sea of mud'. This, he argued, proved that science had no relation to modern and western Christianity, and that truth was universal, not under the tutelage of European epistemology. This would usher in the triumph of King David. Morrison separated the west's scientific progress from its dominant religion. Morrison ended his treatise with selections from the Book of Psalms (in Hebrew nonetheless!) to further drive home his argument. See R. J. Morrison, *King David Triumphant! A Letter to the Astronomers of Benares* (London, 1871), p. 4.
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216. A. Fraser, 'Education in India and Ceylon in View of the National Movement', *The East and the West*, 1908, pp. 31–2; J. Ritchie, *History of Indian Missions* (London, 1908), pp. 316–7.
217. *Report of the General Missionary Conference held at Allahabad, 1872–73* (London, 1873), p. 95.

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221. Ibid.
222. BUL, J. A. Warren to Ellwood, 8 July 1898, G2/I7/O; *Annual Report of the LMS*, 1900, p. 89.
223. BUL, 'Committee Instructions to A.N. Tubbs', 5 October 1905, G2/I7/L6.
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6 Maintaining Missionary Influence

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10. RHL, CLR, Westcott to Tucker, 17 November 1898, p. 41.

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61. SOASL, *CMS Gleaner*., 1909, A. Warren.
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153. Holland, *The Indian Outlook*, p. 238.
154. Holland, *The Goal of India*, pp. 195–6.
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3

Missionary Education and Empire in Late Colonial India, 1860–1920

Hayden J. A. Bellenoit

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Hayden J. A. Bellenoit

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